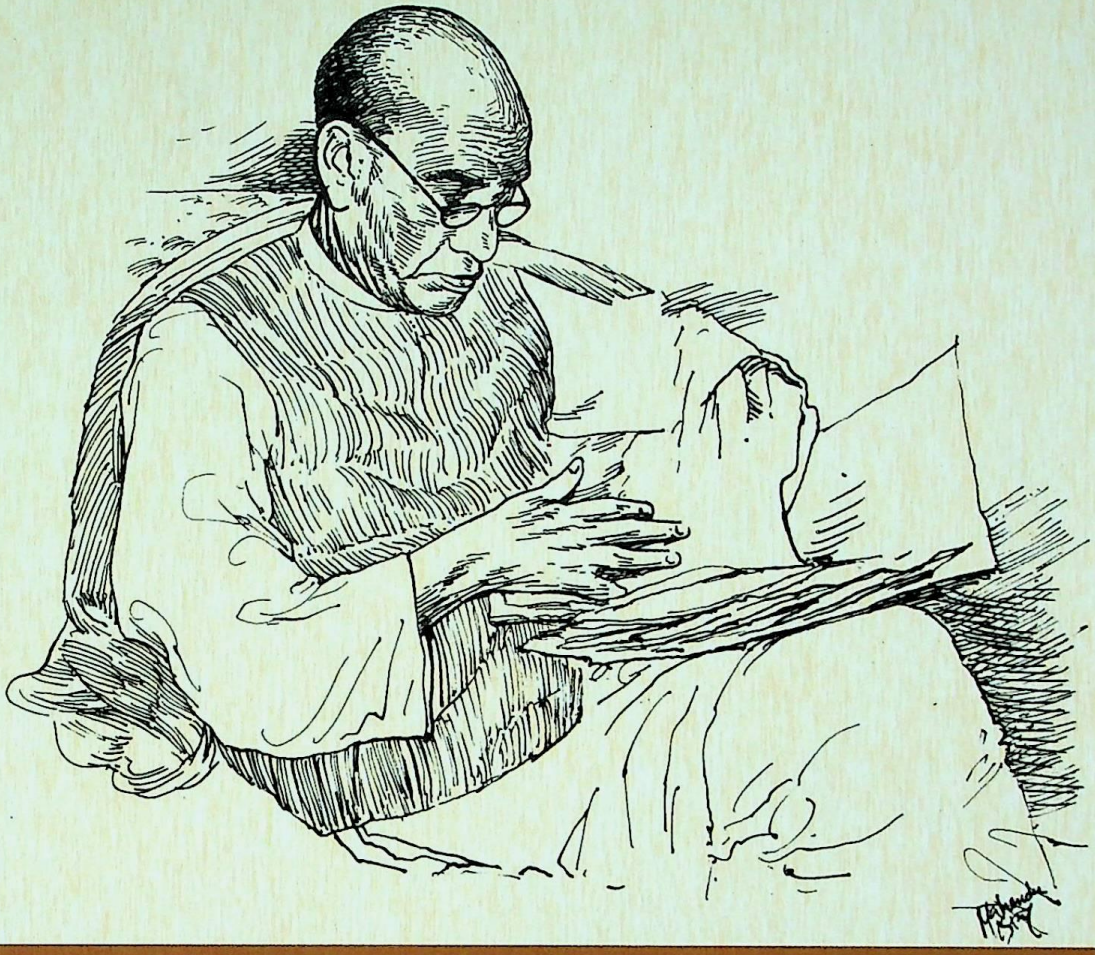
VOLUME 4

- *Transfer of Power*
- *Communal Holocaust on Partition*
- *Administration and Stability*



SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

• 1945 – 1950 •

EDITED BY **DURGA DAS**

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The political ferment which marked 1946 spilled over to 1947. The Attlee Cabinet replaced Wavell by Mountbatten as Viceroy in the hope that he would pull off an agreed solution between the Congress and the Muslim League. But all the efforts of the Congress leaders to avert the Partition failed as Mr. Jinnah, confident of support from British bureaucrats and Tories, stuck out for Pakistan. The Congress capitulated under heavy pressure and the twin states of secular, democratic India and theocratic Pakistan were born, with Governor-General Mountbatten playing the role of midwife.

Partition gave an impetus to communal carnage involving the uprooting of over ten million people from their homes in India and Pakistan to seek refuge in the other dominion. The socio-economic structure of the affected provinces seemed on the verge of collapse. The Correspondence in the volume reveals how Sardar Patel as Home Minister handled the problem of restoring peace and sanity and resettling the uprooted victims of the trauma of the Partition.

Of particular interest in the context of the emergence in December 1971 of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) as an independent republic is the heated controversy recorded in this volume over the plea for a sovereign Bengal as an escape from the proposed partition on a religious basis.

How did Mountbatten, Nehru and Patel act and react to the challenge of destiny and the compulsions of the hour?

Patel's reply to Lord Ismay's letter of farewell summed up the situation aptly: "You have yourself seen how that friendship and goodwill burst forth when the psychological opportunity came on 15 August. It is now for your statesmen and your country to capitalise that friendship and that goodwill and not to let these be smothered by old controversies in their new form.... You have also witnessed the manner in which the country as a whole and the administration have accustomed themselves to the great and vital change from foreign rule to self-government. It is for you to convince your old chief (Churchill) whether you have had to deal with men of straw or with men of substance."

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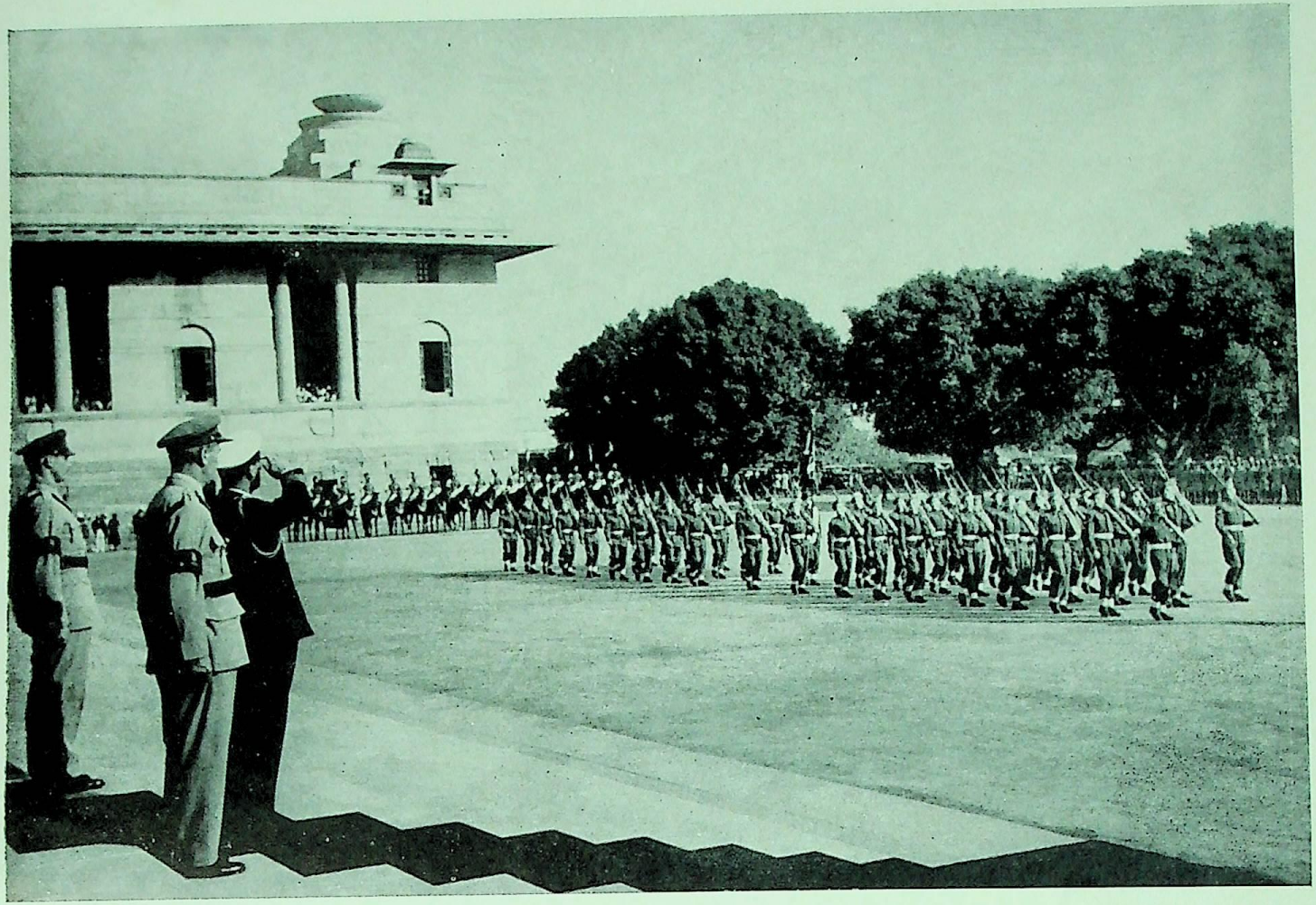

MOUNTBATTEN TAKES THE SALUTE AT A CEREMONIAL PARADE IN THE FORECOURT OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE (NOW RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN) OF THE LAST BRITISH DETACHMENT TO LEAVE INDIA FOLLOWING THE TRANSFER OF POWER

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SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE
1945-50

VOLUME IV

TRANSFER OF POWER—COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST ON PARTITION—
ADMINISTRATION AND STABILITY

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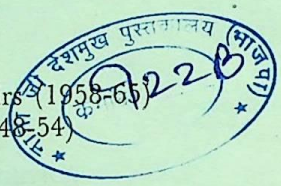

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Mountbatten takes the salute at a ceremonial parade in the forecourt of Government House (now Rashtrapati Bhavan) of the last British detachment to leave India following the transfer of power — *Frontispiece*

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Mountbatten meets Indian leaders at the Viceroy's House on 2 June 1947. Round the table from left to right are: Baldev Singh, Kripalani, Patel, Nehru, Mountbatten, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Nishtar. Behind Mountbatten are Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mieville — 80

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Oath of allegiance to free India at the midnight session of the Constituent Assembly on 14/15 August 1947. Left to right in front row: Vallabhbhai Patel, K. M. Munshi, N. V. Gadgil and Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan 320

Mountbatten administers oath of office to Patel as a Minister in the Central Cabinet on 15 August 1947 in the Durbar Hall of Government House, New Delhi. Other Ministers on right and left look on 321

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FOREWORD

The correspondence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in ten volumes, covers a crucial period in India's history: 1 October 1945 to 12 December 1950, three days before his death in Bombay.

The letters and annexures consist of exchanges between Sardar Patel on the one hand and Lord Wavell, Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, rulers of Princely States, Premiers of Congress Ministries and scores of Congressmen belonging to the party rank and file, on the other. These relate to various matters which arose in the domestic, international, constitutional, administrative and economic spheres in this period and thus constitute valuable source material of history. They were in the custody of Miss Maniben Patel, the Sardar's daughter, and were deposited by her with the Navajivan Trust in Ahmedabad after his death.

The Trust arranged, under her direction and supervision, to have them typed in Ahmedabad and send the copies to me for editing and compilation. The volumes are thus based on authentic copies of the correspondence deposited with the Trust.

Explaining the time-lag in releasing the correspondence, Maniben said in a long talk she had with me in New Delhi in late 1970 that she had held it back until she was certain that its publication would not be harmful to the nation for which her father had laboured and suffered so much. The letters contain matter relating to affairs of State and party organisation whose untimely disclosure might have embarrassed the Government or the political leaders of the day.

Since, however, some of the correspondence in the possession of other parties and relating to isolated events had been made public, she decided that the time had come to release the correspondence to give a balanced picture of the events to which they relate or of the Sardar's views. "I have been late," she said, "but not too late."

The Navajivan Trust, she added, had agreed to publish the correspondence and thus made it possible for the people of India and the world outside to have access to this valuable material which throws new light on the momentous developments

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of the period covered by these papers and the calculations made by the leading personalities of the day in shaping the course of history.

The significance of the correspondence lies in the light it sheds on the main characters on the Indian stage as they acted and reacted to the challenges of the time and to the problems posed by their differing approach and outlook. There is indeed hardly a national or regional issue of consequence in contemporary history the origin of which cannot be traced to the five crucial years.

Vallabhbhai Patel emerges from the correspondence as a great organiser and consolidator of modern India. Over 70 when he assumed ministerial office for the first time, he carried on his ailing shoulders the crushing burden of building the political infrastructure of the new India. Death prevented him from completing his task, but what he achieved in five short years endures.

These volumes are the bones and sinews of Indian history of a crucial period. To the scholar and researcher, they offer a treasure of source material. To the politician, they should serve as a guide. To the citizen, they provide inspiration.

Arrangements are in chronological order and not by topic. But the letters have been grouped thematically to retain interrelation of events and negotiations. Correspondence of a routine nature has been omitted and a few excisions have been made out of regard for the susceptibilities of the persons concerned. Such excisions are indicated by dots.

Where an extract or extracts from a letter are published, this is indicated by the word 'Extracts' at the top of the letter. The omissions have been effected by the persons entrusted by Maniben Patel and the Navajivan Trust with selecting the material for publication.

In several instances, letters, enclosures and other documents referred to in the published correspondence are not to be found in these volumes. It is hoped that future researchers will be able to fill these gaps.

The yardstick which the Sardar applied to public life and to political and socio-economic issues was forgotten or ignored by his successors with consequences which became apparent in the confused state of politics in the 1960s. India has again entered the most crucial period in the evolution of its polity. The stand taken by the Sardar on various issues and his vision of the road which India should take have acquired a new relevance.

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Each volume of the series contains an outline of the contents of the other nine volumes in the form of a summary of the main features. This should help researchers ascertain at a glance what the whole series contains. The details of arrangements for selection and presentation of the correspondence were explained in the Foreword to the first volume, and are not therefore recapitulated here. The feature "Focus on Sardar" giving the views of Maniben Patel and the "Chronology of Principal Events in Sardar's Life" given in Volume I are retained in this volume and will be reproduced in succeeding volumes.

We owe a word of gratitude to the Sardar's daughter, Kumari Maniben Patel. After the Sardar's death, she preserved these papers with great care and readily agreed to their publication. Not only this, she had a hand in the meticulous scrutiny and compilation of these papers. By her efforts the authenticity of these records has been vouchsafed and the Navajivan Trust has been able to publish them with a sense of redeeming a part of its debt to the Sardar.

Since, in the line of duty I witnessed, chronicled, and even participated in many of the events of this stirring period, I was approached by the Trustees to undertake the arduous task of editing the voluminous correspondence. My colleagues have helped to process this vast accumulation of material with professional skill, arrange it thematically and make it meaningful to the average reader. For me and them it has been a labour of love. We also thank our aides, the staff of the Navajivan Trust who assisted in bringing this massive undertaking to a successful close.

2, Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi-1
2 October 1972

DURGA DAS

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CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN SARDAR'S LIFE

1875 Born on 31 October at Nadiad, Kaira district, Gujarat. Fourth son of Jhaverbhai Patel, a farmer of Karamsad in the same district, and Ladbai. Belonged to agricultural caste known as Leuva Patidar. Schooling up to English third standard at Karamsad.

1891 English 4th and 5th standards at Petlad, a small town seven miles from Karamsad. Lived in a rented room with four or five other boys, with seven days' ration. Walked from Karamsad to Petlad every week.

1893 At the age of 18 married Jhaverba of Gana, a small village three miles from Karamsad.

1897 Matriculated from a high school in Nadiad, Kaira district, at 22.

1900 Passed District Pleaders' Examination. Studied with books borrowed from friends. Set up independent practice at Godhra, headquarters of Panchmahals district, Gujarat. Contracted bubonic plague from a court nazir whom he nursed when an epidemic broke out in Godhra.

1902 Shifted practice to Borsad, where he quickly made a name as a criminal lawyer.

1905 Saved enough money to go to England to become a barrister, but postponed departure in deference to the wishes of his elder brother Vithalbhai, who came to know about his plan and wished to go first. Looked after his brother's wife while he was away.

1909 Wife Jhaverba died after an operation in Bombay. Received a telegram containing news of her death while arguing a murder case in Borsad, but continued case until hearing was completed. In spite of pressure from friends and relations, refused to marry again.

1910 Left for England. Admitted to Middle Temple.

1911 Passed preliminary examination with honours, standing first in Equity. Fell ill with a tropical disease unknown in England. Doctors wanted to amputate his leg, but a German

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doctor intervened and cured him through an operation which he underwent without chloroform.

1912 Took final examination after sixth term instead of usual 12. Stood first in first class, winning a prize of £50 and exemption from two terms. Sailed for India the day after convocation.

1913 Reached Bombay on 13 February. Refused post in Judicial Department as a lecturer in Government Law School, Bombay, and left for Ahmedabad, where he established himself as foremost criminal lawyer.

1915 Member, Gujarat Sabha, which was converted into Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee in 1919.

1917 Elected member of Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Election challenged and set aside. Stood in a by-election and was returned unopposed. Mahatma Gandhi, president of the first Gujarat Provincial Conference, appointed an executive committee with Patel as secretary. Impressed by Gandhi's leadership of the agitation against the British indigo planters of Champaran, Bihar.

Conducted agitation against begar (forced labour for Government purposes). Led agitation against the appointment of a British member of the Indian Civil Service as Municipal Commissioner and secured his removal.

As Chairman of the Sanitary Committee of Ahmedabad, stayed on in city when most of the citizens went away during an epidemic of plague. Took a leading role in helping sufferers and enforcing precautionary measures.

1918 Organised famine relief work in Ahmedabad district.

Represented textile mill labour with Gandhi and Shankarlal Banker before a tribunal appointed to hear a dispute between labour and millowners.

Put up a temporary hospital in city with grant from Municiapl Board to Gujarat Sabha to combat severe influenza epidemic. Organised no-tax campaign in Kaira district along with Gandhi. During campaign Gandhi said he was testing Patel, adding later that Patel had turned out to be "pure gold." Chairman, Sanitary Committee and Public Works Committee of Ahmedabad Municipality.

Helped Gandhi in recruitment drive for British Indian Army. They used to walk together for miles and cooked their own food.

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1919 Chairman, Managing Committee, Ahmedabad Municipal Board.

Organised movement against Rowlatt Bills designed to strangle movement for self-rule. Led big demonstration march in Ahmedabad on 6 April and addressed public meeting against bills. Sold publicly Gandhi's proscribed books, Hind Swaraj and Sarvodaya, and published Satyagraha Patrika in Gujarati without official declaration or permission. Government took no action.

Helped local authorities restore peace and order after large-scale disturbances leading to martial law in Ahmedabad after arrest of Gandhi.

Served with a show-cause notice for cancellation of his sanad (permit to practise law) for participating in a public meeting advocating satyagraha. Case ended with a warning. Refused to pay fine imposed by Government as penalty for riots in city. Sofa attached and auctioned for Rs. 100.

1920 Organised campaign of Congress Party in elections to Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Congress captured almost all elected seats. Discarded Western dress and adopted khadi dhoti, kurta and chappals. Burnt all his foreign clothes. Way of life also changed to traditional pattern in Gujarat. Organised a conference of political workers of Gujarat in Ahmedabad and persuaded it to adopt a resolution supporting Gandhi's civil disobedience movement.

In response to Gandhi's call at Nagpur session of Congress to collect money for Tilak Swaraj Fund, promised to raise Rs. 1 million and enrol 300,000 party members in Gujarat. Fulfilled these promises within three months.

1921 Elected chairman of Reception Committee of 36th session of Congress held at Ahmedabad. For first time, delegates sat on floor and the session set new pattern in simplicity, austerity and businesslike proceedings.

Built a hospital and maternity home on 21 acres of land along Sabarmati river at site of session. The fountain built at that time is still there.

1922 Government of Bombay suspended Ahmedabad Municipality after a sharp tussle over supervision of municipal

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schools. Organised schools under People's Primary Education Board with public contributions. Municipality suspended. Collected Rs. 1 million for Gujarat Vidyapith in a tour which took him up to Rangoon.

1923 All-India Congress Committee deputed him to conduct satyagraha at Nagpur in connection with British District Commissioner's ban on flying national flag in cantonment area.

Resisted Bombay Government's levy of punitive tax on people of Borsad who were charged with harbouring criminals. Tax withdrawn. Called Suba of Borsad.

1924 Ahmedabad Municipality reinstated. Fresh elections gave Congress Party a decisive majority in enlarged Municipal Council. Elected President of municipality.

1927 Passed a resolution giving notice to Ahmedabad Cantonment to pay water tax from 1920 at rate of eight annas. If tax was not paid, threatened to cut off water connection. Tax paid under protest.

Introduced khadi uniform in municipality. Municipal work was conducted in Gujarati after he became President. His scheme for supplying pure water passed.

Completed drainage scheme during term as President. Collected all arrears of municipal tax not paid by high officials, some well-to-do people and municipal councillors by cutting water connections and attaching properties.

Unprecedented rainfall caused great damage and hardship throughout Gujarat. Saved Ahmedabad from floods by getting culverts breached. Organised relief measures for flood sufferers with public contributions. Promoted grow-more food and fodder campaigns and opened shops to sell high-quality gram, cereal and cotton seed for sowing at low cost to farmers. Received more than Rs. 10 million from Government earmarked for famine relief. A new party emerged in Ahmedabad Municipality. Clashed with it over appointment of chief officer.

1928 Resigned presidency. Led peasant agitation in Bardoli taluka, Surat district, against increase in land revenue rates. Bombay Government punished farmers for non-payment by confiscating and auctioning land, crops and other property.

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As agitation continued unabated, Government agreed to restore all unsold confiscated land, release satyagrahis, reinstate dismissed village officers and reduce land tax. Named Sardar of Bardoli and thereafter known as Sardar Patel. Presided over first local self-government conference in Surat.

1929 Presided over Maharashtra Political Conference in Poona. Toured Maharashtra, mobilising public opinion against enhanced land taxes and untouchability.

Presided over Kathiawar Political Conference at Morvi.

Toured Madras Presidency at request of C. Rajagopalachari. Presided over Tamil Nadu Political Conference at Vedaranyam. Reiterated support for Congress resolution on dominion status at conference against supporters of complete independence. Also visited Karnatak and Bihar.

At Calcutta session of Congress advocated support to all-party committee headed by Motilal Nehru which recommended acceptance of dominion status as India's political goal, provided demand was granted within two years. Motilal Nehru, Congress President, moved a resolution from chair congratulating Patel and peasants of Bardoli on victory over British bureaucracy. Nominated in September as a candidate for presidency of Congress session at Lahore but withdrew in favour of Jawaharlal Nehru.

1930 Arrested on 7 March while addressing a public meeting at Ras village, near Borsad, a few days after Gandhi announced march to Dandi near Surat, to break salt law. Preceded marchers to arrange accommodation and food on way. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or three weeks' additional imprisonment. Refused to pay fine and lodged in Sabarmati jail, Ahmedabad.

Went on hunger-strike in jail, requesting C class diet instead of A class. Request granted. Released on 26 June.

Arrested when leading a procession in Bombay on 31 July and sentenced to three months' jail. Taken to Yeravda jail near Poona. On release, made a speech at Khadi Bhandar, for which he was arrested. Sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second week of December.

1931 Released from jail in March under Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Presided over 46th Congress session at Karachi in last

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week of March. Helped Gandhi in his discussions with Viceroy (Lord Irwin) in Simla in last week of August on Congress participation in First Round Table Conference in London.

1932 Arrested at 4 a.m. on 4 January and taken by car to Yeravda and imprisoned with Gandhi there for 16 months. Mother died at Karamsad.

1933 Transferred to Nasik jail on 1 August. Elder brother Vithalbhai died in Switzerland on 22 October. Rejected terms on which Government offered to release him on parole for two days to perform funeral rites.

1934 Developed serious nasal trouble in jail and released on 14 July. Issued statement accepting Gandhi's decision to leave Congress on 24 September. Congress decided at its annual session in Bombay in October to contest elections to Central Legislative Assembly. Undertook tour of many parts of country campaigning for party candidates. British Government allowed Jinnah to go to North-West Frontier. Sardar also sought and obtained permission to do so. But after going there was not allowed to visit Bannu district.

1935 Organised relief work in Borsad taluka where plague had broken out in four successive summers. Organised relief for victims of Quetta earthquake from Bombay, where he was laid low with jaundice.

Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, invited Sardar to a meeting and offered him premiership of Bombay Presidency, but added that land confiscated from farmers in Bardoli and sold would not be returned to owners. Sardar replied: "I am not going to be premier and the land will be returned to the peasants."

President of Third Local Self-Government Conference at Broach.

1936 Collected Rs. 49,000 for Harijan Fund in two days in February. Appointed Chairman of Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee to select party candidates for provincial elections under Government of India Act 1935.

1937 Involved in a controversy with K. F. Nariman, President of Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, over selection of premier for Bombay Presidency. Guided Congress Ministries after acceptance of office.

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1938 Involved in July in controversy on a constitutional issue with Dr. N. B. Khare, Prime Minister of Central Provinces. Khare accused Sardar of conspiring to oust him from office and resigned from Government and Congress. Efforts to impose central party discipline on provincial leaders earned him title Dictator of India. Presided over Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad. Narrowly escaped attempt to kill him.

Visit to Mysore city resulted in Government of Mysore State agreeing to flying of Congress flag in its territory.

Flew to Rajkot on 24 December for talks with Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, who signed agreement on release of prisoners in Rajkot State and offered Sardar a portfolio in his Council of Ministers.

1939 Subhas Chandra Bose defied Gandhi, Patel and other members of Working Committee and got elected President of Congress at Tripura session uncontested because Maulana Azad withdrew at last moment.

Thakore Saheb of Rajkot broke agreement and satyagraha was renewed in State early in the year.

Bose's resolution on mass civil disobedience defeated at Tripura session in February. Bose described Sardar as "shining light of the ruling clique" and resigned presidency.

Working Committee appointed a war sub-committee of three, including Vallabhbhai, in August. Warned provincial Congress organisations not to force a political crisis by hasty action.

1940 Replied in a public speech at Ahmedabad in October to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for the Dominions, who had asked in House of Commons whether India was fit for independence. Sardar said: "If you lose the war, you will have lost everything, and even if you win, you will have suffered so heavily that your victory will be an empty one. At the end of the war, I declare no nation will remain subject to another. A great revolution is going to sweep the people everywhere. We shall see a new world emerge out of the fiery ordeal of this war." Arrested under Defence of India Act on 18 November for participating in satyagraha launched by Gandhi to press Britain for firm commitment on Indian independence. Imprisoned in Sabarmati jail and later transferred to Yeravda.

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1941 Released on 20 August from detention on ground of health. Condemned communal killing in Ahmedabad at first public meeting after release. Treated for acute intestinal disorder.

1942 Participated in talks with Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi. Favoured acceptance of constitutional proposals put forward by Cripps provided they were modified to suit political conditions in India.

1942 August Supported Quit India resolution at AICC meeting in Bombay on 8 August. Arrested at 4 a.m. on 9 August under Defence of India Act. Detained without trial at Ahmednagar fort with other Working Committee members.

1945 Transferred to Yeravda. Recurrence of intestinal trouble. Released on 15 June.

Went to Simla during political talks between Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and Indian leaders.

Entrusted with organising Congress election campaign for Central and provincial legislatures.

Secured G. V. Mavalankar's election as Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in December.

1946 Issued call to Ministers in Congress Governments to work for eradication of untouchability.

Disapproved Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's proposal for mass conversion of members of Scheduled Castes to other religions. If they changed religion, they could not claim benefits as Harijans.

Persuaded revolting men of Royal Indian Navy to call off agitation in February as "the dawn of freedom is breaking and the sun will rise in a few months."

If political issues between Britain and India could not be solved satisfactorily, India would withdraw from Bretton Woods Conference, Sardar said in statement in March. Condemned suggestion that sterling balances should be scaled down. "Sterling credit is the economic foundation of India and this country's future progress largely depends upon it."

Opposed Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, saying: "It is a monstrous thing that a man can claim a different nationality because he changes his religion." Hindus and Muslims were all basically Indians and thought as such. Congress

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could not accept the theory of Pakistan, happen what may. The two-nation theory would ruin all.

Declared in an exclusive interview with the political correspondent of Reuter that India would be prepared to refer major political issues to an international body for arbitration. Britain could not stay in India indefinitely. "Hand over power either to the Congress or to the Muslim League and go out of India," he said.

Advised withdrawal of trial of leaders of Indian National Army in Delhi.

Pleaded for fuller freedom to legislatures in Princely States and to Praja Mandals to select representatives to Constituent Assembly.

Appealed to Sikhs not to boycott Constituent Assembly even though Cabinet Mission had not done them justice.

Rejected possibility of a coalition between Muslim League and Congress.

Joined Viceroy's Executive Council as Home Member on 3 September. Announced in Central Legislative Assembly that foreigners would be appointed to senior administrative posts only in exceptional cases.

Accepted the principle of state control of industry; told Central Legislative Assembly that it was not desirable to go fast on nationalisation.

Spurned Jinnah's proposal for an exchange of population. Urged Muslim League to join Constituent Assembly and abandon its Pakistan policy.

1947 Talks with British Government representatives on transfer of control of services from Secretary of State to Interim Government and compensation for British officials completed. Statement on All India Radio's language policy announcing changes in existing practice.

Rejoinder to Jinnah: "Let an impartial tribunal decide the Pakistan issue, for Pakistan could be attained only on the basis of justice and understanding and not by force of arms."

Appealed to Muslim League to accept invitation to join talks and agree to arbitration by a "free power" in case of disagreement between League and Congress.

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Told Princes to play their part in shaping India's destiny. Warned North-West Frontier Province Ministry headed by Khan Abdul Qayum Khan that Centre would not submit to rowdyism and threats.

Interim Government's proposals on compensation to British officials accepted by Attlee Government. Demanded dominion status for India "at once" so that a strong Centre could deal firmly with threats to law and order. Statement issued on outbreak of riots in Dera Ismail Khan and elsewhere in NWFP.

Rulers of Dholpur, Nabha and Nawanagar told Sardar in New Delhi of their decision to join Constituent Assembly. States Department created and entrusted to Sardar. Described Jinnah's demand for a land corridor linking West Pakistan with the eastern wing as "fantastic nonsense."

Assured Princes that "internal autonomy" of their states would be respected.

Patel Committee's report on minorities submitted to Constituent Assembly. Report recommended joint electorates, representation in Ministries at Centre and in states and other safeguards.

Insisted on stationing a brigade of Indian Army in Kathiawar to protect states acceding to Indian Union from apprehended attack from Junagadh.

Persuaded Government to overrule Mountbatten and entrust Indian Army with operations against Nawab of Junagadh.

Pledged Government protection to Muslims staying in India. Said forced conversions and marriages would not be recognised.

Announced full agreement between India and Pakistan on all outstanding issues relating to partition, including division of armed forces. Said Kashmir had not been referred to Inter-Dominion Partition Committee. Announced in Constituent Assembly financial settlement between India and Pakistan under which India would transfer Rs. 750 million to Pakistan as a "great gesture of goodwill."

Addressed Orissa rulers in Cuttack. They agreed to merge their territories with Orissa province.

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Announced at public meeting in Jammu that "everything possible" would be done to save Kashmir, "and this assurance I am conveying on behalf of the Government of India." Praised Sheikh Abdullah's role in ensuring Kashmir's accession to India.

1948 Appealed to labour leaders of West Bengal to support popular Government. Warned Pakistan that if it wanted further division of the country, "let us do it in the open field." Asked Indian Muslims: "In the recent all-India Muslim Conference, why did you not open your mouths on the Kashmir issue? Why did you not condemn the action of Pakistan? These things create doubts in the minds of the people."

Declared in a statement: "Unless the Kashmir issue is settled, the financial pact between India and Pakistan cannot be implemented. . . . Let there be no mistake that Kashmir belongs to India."

Declared at Patna that abolition of zamindari without compensation would be nothing short of robbery.

Appealed to Nizam of Hyderabad to respect his people's wishes and accede to India.

Inaugurating Rajasthan Union, said that only by coming together could smaller states save themselves from anarchy and confusion.

In message on formation of Vindhya Pradesh, said: "Unification and democratisation would be purposeless if they did not bring about improvement in the lot of the people."

Warned British politicians and Press to halt propaganda against India. Blamed Churchill for India's partition and attendant disasters.

Rejected compromise on Hyderabad. Accession and responsible government were India's minimum demands.

Said in an eve-of-independence speech: "In free India there is no room for divided loyalties."

Informed Parliament that "action would be taken against Hyderabad for breach of the standstill agreement."

Congratulated Defence Services on their remarkable success in the "police action" in Hyderabad.

Indicted UN for mishandling Kashmir issue. "We accepted the UN Commission's cease-fire proposals, but the other

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party did not. We could perform the Kashmir operation without danger if only we could free ourselves from our commitments."

Referring to Pakistan and its anti-Indian propaganda, said: "I wonder whether they are really afraid of us, or is this outburst merely an attempt to preserve their unity?" Inaugurated Advisory Board of Central India States. Praised Nehru's leadership on his 60th birthday, saying: "Pandit Nehru has led the country through the crisis and has by his great leadership enhanced the prestige of India. We want our leader to remain at the helm for many years."

1949 Announced merger of five Princely States of Rajputana—Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Udaipur—to form Rajasthan Union and hailed it as a momentous development.

Advised Maharaja of Baroda to merge his State with Bombay.

Challenged contention of Nawab of Bhopal that paramountcy had lapsed with British withdrawal from India.

Warned Communists that if they continued to oppose Government and create danger they would be dealt with severely.

Opposed demand for linguistic states because consolidation of country must precede revision of boundaries.

Appealed to members of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh to join Congress.

Advised South Indians to learn Hindi.

Appealed for public contributions to rebuild Somnath temple in Junagadh.

Announced in Hyderabad that responsible government would be introduced in former Nizam's State only after normalcy was restored.

Warned Master Tara Singh in a speech at Amritsar that he was following suicidal policies.

Advised RSS to concentrate on regenerating Hindu society through constitutional and constructive methods.

Inaugurated Rajasthan State in Jaipur.

Announced take-over of administration of Bhopal State by Centre and congratulated Nawab on his understanding

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and self-sacrifice. Declared that welfare of Muslims would be prime concern of State's new administration.

At a public meeting at Indore, warned Congress politicians in newly formed states unions that he would dissolve ministries and administer unions centrally if they did not stop their petty squabbles and tussles for power.

Told All-India Depressed Classes Leagues Confederation: "India's independence will not be completed until every Harijan claims, and actually gets, equality of status."

Moving consideration of report of Advisory Committee on Minorities in Constituent Assembly, said: "Minority concessions, though not good in themselves, have to be treated as purely temporary. Minorities should voluntarily agree to abolition of reservations for them in services and legislatures."

Supported grant of privy purses to princes in return for accession to Indian Union.

1950 Warned Pakistan against pushing Hindus out of eastern wing.

Defended in Parliament use of preventive detention to fight terrorism and violence.

Gave details of democratic set-up for Delhi Union Territory.

Appealed at public meeting in Calcutta for fair trial to Nehru-Liaquat Pact on minorities.

Told public meeting at Indore that Congress "is fully behind Nehru." Called for revolution in system of education in address to Gujarat Vidyapith.

Opened newly constructed building of Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad. Purse of Rs. 1.5 million presented on behalf of Gujarat on his 75th birthday, which he immediately handed over to President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Declared that accepting aid from United States did not mean alignment with any power bloc. UNO should be strengthened.

Deplored Chinese intervention in Tibet and use of force against Tibetans.

Fell ill on 15 November. Taken to Bombay on Tuesday, 12 December. Died on Friday morning, 15 December.

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FOCUS ON SARDAR

An illuminating picture of Sardar Patel's activities and style of work was provided by his daughter Maniben. What follows are extracts from the information and views given by her to Trevor Drieberg and the Editor in New Delhi:

The Sardar was a man of few words. He wrote very little; he hardly kept any record of his public or party work. He destroyed letters addressed to him after reading them and replied by hand, not keeping copies. But after he was appointed Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board in 1934, files relating to its transactions were kept.

When the Sardar fell ill towards the end of the Bardoli satyagraha in 1928, it was suggested that somebody should give him secretarial help. I said: "If someone is to be kept, why not I?" From 1929 until his death, I preserved his correspondence whenever possible. Once, when K. Gopalaswami, political commentator of the Times of India, visited him in his flat on Marine Drive, Bombay, the Sardar called for a letter he had received from C. Rajagopalachari, forgetting that he had torn it up and thrown it in the wastepaper basket. Fortunately, I had collected the pieces. It took me some time to paste them together before passing it on to him. This happened before the Interim Government was formed.

The Sardar travelled second-class by railway before he became a Minister. I would spread his bedding at night and retire to a third-class compartment. But from 1934, when there was much correspondence to attend to even on train journeys and people came to see him at stations, I kept company with him in his second-class compartment. I used to make copies of important letters he wrote in hand, but he would question this, asking why I was taking such trouble and wasting time. I also kept newspaper clippings of important events with which he was associated.

The Sardar read several newspapers and listened to radio news bulletins regularly. This enabled him to keep abreast of developments throughout the country. He also talked to people to get information to supplement other sources.

After 1945, the secretarial functions of the Congress Parliamentary Board were undertaken mainly by Shantilal Shah. The Sardar was undergoing treatment for intestinal trouble at the

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Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, when he sent for Shantilal Shah from Bombay. Shah, a Congress Socialist, hesitated at first because he did not know what was in store for him. But B. G. Kher (Premier of Bombay) advised him to take up the work. The Sardar told Shah he wanted him to act as his secretary at the Parliamentary Board office located at the headquarters of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

The Sardar was a very shrewd judge of character. When he met a person for the first time he looked him up and down, and the assessment he made in that process rarely went wrong.

Once when Mathuradas Trikamji, Mayor of Bombay, asked what kind of men he kept round him, the Sardar replied that his was a "juggler's basket." He kept all kinds of people for the single aim of winning India's freedom. He used different people for different purposes. He was fully aware of their weaknesses and drawbacks but exploited their useful qualities.

The Sardar learnt punctuality in his youth when he had to do everything for himself. This experience taught him to save time by doing things according to schedule. This gave him self-reliance and at the same time an appreciation of the difficulties other people encountered. He walked on business errands rather than use transport. This habit served him well in London when he was attending the Inns of Court. He used to walk from his lodgings to the law library, a distance of several miles daily. He could not afford to buy books for study, and was at the library when the librarian opened it and left at closing time every evening.

The visit to England fulfilled two of my father's ambitions. He wanted to see the country from which people had come to conquer India and to qualify as a barrister. He had seen how even mediocre lawyers had been able to build up a large practice because they had been to London to study for the Bar. On his return to Ahmedabad, he established himself as the city's leading criminal lawyer.

When he was a district pleader at Borsad in the early 1900s, there was a British magistrate who kept a mirror in his court to study the faces of witnesses. This made witnesses nervous and the magistrate drew conclusions from their behaviour about their truthfulness. The Sardar thought of a plan to make the officer behave. He demanded transfer to the district court of a case in which he was appearing before the magistrate. The Sardar presented him with a sealed letter. The magistrate opened the letter and saw his name

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heading the list of witnesses for the defence. He called the Sardar to his chamber for a talk. The accused was acquitted and the magistrate stopped using the mirror, conceding that he had no right to do so. This incident illustrates a facet of my father's character. He had no fear of the British magistracy or administrators.

The Sardar was a man of regular habits and disliked armchair politicians. He read about Gandhiji's action in Champaran and was impressed by his methods of organising peasants to resist exploitation and oppression. Mahatma Gandhi was preoccupied with the agitation in Bihar and wanted somebody who would give up everything and devote all his time to the satyagraha campaign in Kaira district organised as a protest against excessive land revenue. My father volunteered his services, and they were accepted.

Until that time the Sardar wore European dress. He was so fastidious that finding no good laundry in Ahmedabad he got his stiff collars washed in Bombay.

From early youth, the Sardar developed the qualities of leadership and discipline. In later life, these qualities were to help him in organising large groups of people for action. Until the Bardoli movement, he was hardly known outside Gujarat. He did not go out of Gujarat until Gandhiji's sentence of imprisonment for six years in 1922, when he went on a fund-raising mission for the Gujarat Vidyapith as far east as Rangoon.

For years in Gujarat, whenever Gandhiji addressed a public meeting the Sardar did not speak at it and later, when the Sardar spoke, other Congress leaders did not speak. This is an illustration of the discipline observed by Congressmen at the time. The leader spoke for them and the others showed their loyalty by action.

When Gandhiji started the swadeshi movement and burning of foreign clothes, the Sardar burnt all his European clothes, socks and hats. He never wore any type of headgear, even a khadi cap, after he cast aside his black Banglori cap. From then, he always wore dhoti and kurta and a chaddar on his shoulder, adding only a warm jacket in winter.

The satyagraha in Borsad taluka, Kaira district, lasted a month. The provincial Government had levied a punitive tax of eight annas—a large sum at that time—per person on all the inhabitants for the maintenance of the preventive police. Even children were taxed. The campaign succeeded and in this satyagraha he gained the title Suba of Borsad.

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Another sphere in which the Sardar helped to raise the morale of the people of the area was connected with the activities of dacoits. People dared not leave their houses after 6 p.m. for fear of dacoits who infested the area. They appealed to the Sardar for help. He agreed, provided they did not allow their houses to be used for keeping stolen property.

In the Bardoli satyagraha, there was one organiser for every big village. The Sardar set out at noon from his headquarters and returned at midnight after visiting many villages. There was only one car, so all the other organisers journeyed on foot or by train or cart. The peasants accepted the Sardar as their unquestioned leader. Every morning, he received written reports from each village through volunteer messengers. The title Sardar of Bardoli was conferred on him by a party worker at a public meeting. It gained nationwide currency when Gandhiji started referring to him in this manner.

As head of Ahmedabad Municipality, the Sardar looked far ahead of immediate civic needs and planned accordingly, unlike some of his successors who made changes looking to short-term gains.

His qualities of leadership were recognised when he organised relief measures during the floods that hit Gujarat in 1927. He went round Ahmedabad city with the chief engineer and ordered a culvert to be broken to let the flood waters flow into the Sabarmati river. This saved the city from total inundation. He also persuaded the Bombay Government to provide more than a crore of rupees for relief to the flood victims. He sent help to the Collector of Kaira when the district was cut off from the rest of Gujarat. Only the Collector's bungalow, which stood on a mound, was safe, and all the townfolk had gathered there for safety. The Sardar's men brought food and other necessities.

The Sardar went to Calcutta for the Congress session over which Motilal Nehru presided. Even though his name had become a household word as the hero of Bardoli his physical appearance was not known. The volunteers of the Congress failed to identify him and since he did not carry a ticket he was not admitted to the pandal. The next day he carried his membership card and the volunteers were surprised when they found people shouting for the darshan of the Sardar of Bardoli and that the hero was the person the volunteers had kept out the previous day.

The Sardar was favoured by the Provincial Congress Committees as the next party president, but Motilal Nehru wrote to

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Gandhiji asking that Jawaharlal should succeed him. Motilal wanted to see his son Congress chief before he died. My father agreed with Bapu (Gandhiji) that Motilal's wish be fulfilled.

It was usual for the Congress President to attend annual sessions with large retinues. The Sardar went to the Karachi session in 1931 with only me and an aide, thus cutting drastically the expenses of the reception committee.

The outlook of the Sardar and of Nehru was vastly different. They agreed to differ, but at the same time worked together for the common cause of India's freedom. The influence of Mridula Sarabhai and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on Nehru was to a large extent responsible for the rift between my father and Jawaharlal.

The Sardar became the party boss from the time he became head of the Parliamentary Board. He was also the party's main fund-raiser. The Congress High Command, of which he was the mainspring, functioned as a moral prop for the Chief Ministers against the administrative machine directed by the British.

I used to sleep by the telephone to take calls that came at odd hours of the night so that the Sardar's sleep was not disturbed. I took down messages and passed them on to him the next morning. One such call came at midnight from Biswanath Das, then Premier of Orissa. He had decided to resign over the choice of a provincial official to act as Governor. The Sardar backed him and the Viceroy yielded.

I may recall a meeting the Sardar had with Bombay Governor Lumley in 1935 at Lumley's request. It lasted about an hour. Lumley told the Sardar that he would be Premier of Bombay, but the lands confiscated from the peasants of Bardoli would never be returned. The Sardar replied: "Note it down that I am not going to be Premier, and also that the lands will be returned to the peasants."

The Sardar took many unpopular decisions in party and Government matters, but his decisions were accepted because he had no axe to grind. He was not amenable to threats or blackmail. He had no property of his own and he was above extraneous considerations. He had nothing to lose, had no ambition and no desire to cling to office.

Once in Yeravda jail, Gandhiji asked in good humour what post he would like to hold after Independence. The Sardar replied he would become a sadhu. In 1945, when it had been decided to replace Azad as Congress President, the Sardar got the largest

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share of votes in the Working Committee. But Kripalani, one of the candidates, withdrew in favour of Nehru and handed a paper to the Sardar to withdraw his nomination as well so that Nehru could be elected unopposed.

Gandhiji, to whom this matter was referred, told Nehru: "I don't want to make you a prop of mine if people don't want you." Nehru kept silent and was selected President. Gandhiji supported Nehru's choice as Prime Minister because he was well known outside India. He compared the Sardar and Nehru to two bullocks yoked to a cart. He felt that if Nehru was made Prime Minister he would be prevented from "making mischief" in the country.

When the Sardar became Home Member and later on Deputy Prime Minister, anybody could call on him during his morning walk from 4.30 to 6.30. He was a fast walker and few could keep pace with him. They told him what they wanted and then they would drop out when the dialogue was over. He gave brief answers and listened mostly. For party workers and others this was an opportunity for opening their hearts to him. At the end of an hour's listening, the Sardar would probably reply in a couple of words. He arranged assistance for even the humblest party worker who needed it. He provided hospitalisation if necessary. After his illness in March 1948 his medical advisers stopped morning walks completely and restricted his interviews.

In 1941, he was afflicted with severe intestinal trouble. He woke around 3.30 every morning because of pain in the bowels. He spent an hour in the toilet before setting out on his morning walk. He had a cup of tea and breakfast, which consisted of a piece of toast and apple juice. In these early morning hours, before going for a walk, I did my quota of spinning. When he assumed office his Private Secretary V. Shankar came in with office files after breakfast. The Sardar looked through the morning newspapers carefully and rarely missed any significant news. He gave oral instructions to Shankar. As before, he would write as little as possible. When in good health, he left home around 9.30 for the Home Ministry, returned for lunch and after a nap of 15 minutes went to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

I looked after the Sardar's Gujarati correspondence while Shankar attended to that in English. I passed on some of the correspondence in Hindi to Shankar. Morarji Desai had recommended Shankar as Private Secretary. The Sardar invited him to lunch to look him over before selecting him for the post.

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The Partition Committee set up under the Mountbatten Plan and consisting of as many as 30 to 40 officers, would come to the Sardar's house and stay up to lunch receiving instructions from him. Its members had to report back to him in the evening. Every order he issued had to be executed within 24 hours. He rang up Premiers at night when he had a particular issue to discuss with them. He was against wasting money on telephone calls on matters that were not urgent. I kept a diary of all private trunk calls, for which Sardar paid out of his own pocket.

I recall another instance of his method of work. There was a crisis in the jute industry. The Sardar phoned C. C. Desai, Commerce Secretary, and M. P. Birla, Chairman of the Indian Jute Manufacturers' Association, Calcutta, and others every night to check on developments. Similarly, at the time of the Bombay riots and disturbances elsewhere, he made phone calls at night to find out what was happening. He made calls to Punjab and Bengal and UP at the time of the partition troubles.

The Sardar was not impolite or arrogant in his dealings with people. He replied promptly to correspondence. He read all the letters addressed to him personally and generally told the officer concerned how he should reply. He never signed letters or any other document blindly. When he was not fully satisfied with a draft, he would change it himself or ask the officer concerned to redraft it. He liked precision and conciseness in letters. He would say that this was "not a place for essays" or for exhibiting one's command of English.

Mountbatten recognised the Sardar's greatness. I was the only other person present when the Sardar had a talk with Bapu between 4 and 5 p.m. on the day of his assassination. Bapu had decided to release the Sardar from the Ministry at the latter's instance, but Mountbatten strongly opposed this because he felt that the Sardar "had his feet on the ground while Nehru had his in the clouds." He told Gandhiji that he could not release the Sardar. Gandhiji agreed and withdrew his decision.

It was agreed at the conversation on January 30 afternoon that Gandhiji, Nehru and the Sardar should sit together and iron out their differences. But this meeting was never held. The Sardar was greatly upset by the slander campaign against him at that time in certain Congress and Government circles. He was worried at heart that Gandhiji had to defend him continually against these slanders.

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Previously, when Nehru lived at York Road and the Sardar just across on Aurangzeb Road, they used to meet every day, even though for a few minutes. Nehru would sometimes drop in after lunch, or in the evening or at night after dinner. They walked together and discussed matters. The Sardar would walk with Nehru up to the gate of the latter's house on York Road and see him off there or they would return together to Aurangzeb Road.

These daily meetings and talks cleared misunderstandings, but this dialogue became very difficult after Nehru moved to the house of the former Commander-in-Chief on Teen Murti Marg. If he had not moved there on Mountbatten's advice, much of their later differences might never have developed. Because of his illness, the Sardar was not able to go to Nehru's house frequently.

When there were party matters to be attended to, the Sardar requested the AICC General Secretary to call at his house for instructions. The Working Committee met at the Sardar's residence since there was no good AICC office building at that time in Delhi. The provincial Premiers constantly sought his guidance, and he was a great help to them in their encounters with members of the bureaucracy or party dissidents.

The administrations of the new states formed after integration lacked capable men to guide them. But in those areas where party members had carried out constructive work under the Sardar's direction before independence, such men were available. This was so in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Elsewhere in the country, party workers in the former states had only indulged in agitation and there was no solid foundation for their work.

The Sardar did not aspire to prime ministership or any other high office. He once said that if India had won Swaraj ten years earlier he would have solved the food problem as he had solved that of the states. He added: "But I have not the strength to do so now." He considered food the country's most important problem after consolidation. He was essentially a man of action, averse to writing. His philosophy of life may be summed up in the words: "Why not create history rather than waste time writing it?"

MANIBEN PATEL

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HIGHLIGHTS—VOLUMES I-III AND V-X

Vol. I: New Light on Kashmir

This absorbing inside story of the events leading up to Independence and continuing subsequently till Sardar Patel's death in 1950 has not been told before. It contains the basic raw material for the research scholar and the historian. The correspondence published in this series opens with the efforts of Maharaja Hari Singh and his counsellors in Srinagar to shore up the feudal structure in Jammu and Kashmir by denial of democratic rights.

The Maharaja unleashed a campaign of repression against the National Conference, the political mouthpiece of the state people, arrested Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, its chief, and charged him with sedition. Jawaharlal Nehru entered Kashmir in defiance of the state Government's ban and courted arrest.

The Maharaja, finding that his hands were forced by the invasion of the state from Pakistan by armed "raiders," opted for India and, after signing the instrument of accession, agreed to the formation of a popular government under Sheikh Abdullah. The Maharaja and the Sheikh were soon at loggerheads. The Maharaja, under relentless pressure from New Delhi, surrendered power and placed himself in the hands of the Sardar who, as the correspondence reveals, played a crucial role in the negotiations which led ultimately to the withdrawal of the Maharaja from the state and the succession of his heir, Yuvraj Karan Singh, as regent and finally as constitutional head of the state.

Patel also pointed out how India's case on Kashmir before the United Nations Security Council should have been effectively presented. The exchange of letters between him and the Sheikh foreshadows the strong differences on approach to the Kashmir problem which ultimately led to the Sheikh's removal from the prime ministership of the state in 1953. Abdullah went his own way, heedless of Patel's restraining influence.

Vol. II: Elections to Central & Provincial Legislatures—Direction of Congress Campaign

Soon after the Congress leaders were released from detention in 1944, negotiations opened with the representatives of the British Raj in New Delhi and the leaders of other Indian political

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parties, notably the Muslim League, on new constitutional arrangements to suit the change in the political climate brought about by World War II and to satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom.

Patel's guiding hand was evident in these negotiations as well as in the direction and management of the Congress campaign for the elections to the Central and provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935. These elections, based on communal electorates with a restricted franchise, were an acid test of the Congress claim to represent the Indian people and to be the recipient of power on their behalf when the British relinquished their authority. The Muslim League, through Mohammed Ali Jinnah, contested this claim, asserting that it was the sole champion of the Muslim "nation" which aspired to a separate existence on the advent of independence.

Patel's role as chief of staff of the Congress High Command, indefatigably marshalling manpower and finances and selection of suitable candidates for the big electoral battle, comes out strikingly in the correspondence in this volume.

Vol. III: Guidance to Ministries—Constituent Assembly Problems—Interim Government Deadlock—Reforms in Indian States

Elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies were followed by the formation of a board consisting of Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to organise elections to the Constituent Assembly as proposed under the Cabinet Mission plan, aiding and guiding Provincial Congress Ministries, including the Coalition Ministry in the Punjab, and supervising the working of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. These tasks fell primarily on the shoulders of Sardar Patel, who functioned as a one-man High Command.

The political situation was complicated by several factors. The Governor of Sind, Sir Francis Mudie, manoeuvred to put in the Muslim League in power. Direct Action Day, observed by the Muslim League on 16 August 1946, resulted in unprecedented communal carnage in Calcutta. There were riots in Bihar. The League refused to agree to the Cabinet Mission plan. Mahatma Gandhi's meetings with Lord Wavell failed to straighten matters. Patel attributed the deadlock over the formation of an Interim Coalition Government to bungling by the Viceroy.

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An Interim Government, headed by Nehru and consisting of Congress party nominees, was formed on 2 September 1946. It was enlarged into a Congress-League coalition in the middle of October 1946. Soon after, Patel described the coalition, which was functioning without joint responsibility, as an arena of party politics and intrigue. He repeatedly drew Wavell's attention to the disruptionist role of the League members of the government. He also tried to persuade him to bring Bengal under virtual martial law to restore peace and tranquillity. Problems of Indian National Army personnel, the Royal Indian Navy uprising, creation of the International Monetary Fund, shipping, trade, and the Secretary of States' Services were firmly and constructively handled by the Sardar.

The movement for reform in the Indian states sponsored by Praja Mandals received an impetus from political developments in British India. The meagre hope of success is revealed in a note Nehru forwarded to the Sardar of his talks with the Nawab of Bhopal in early April 1946. The Sardar, however, guided the movement into the right channel. The correspondence reveals the country in the throes of revolutionary change.

Vol. V: Control over Congress Ministries—Indian States' Accession

Creating conditions for stable government and maintaining law and order in the old provinces of British India after the disruption of partition was a major problem which was Patel's prime responsibility as Minister of Home Affairs. Relations between governors and chief ministers had to be redefined in the changed political context, and the Sardar was often called upon to mediate in disputes resulting from conflicting interpretations of rules and practices by those in authority.

Problems also arose from the emergence of factionalism in the provincial Congress organisations, and the Sardar had to exert his authority to prevent them from cracking up in the heat of local power struggles. The most notable instance was in Madras, where two rival factions were engaged in a bitter struggle which resulted in the ouster of Chief Minister T. Prakasam.

Rehabilitation of Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Pakistan was the key problem encountered in East Punjab, together with the intransigence of Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal. In Assam, large-scale infiltration of Muslims created difficulties for the provincial administration in the wake of the loss of

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Sylhet district to Pakistan. The inclusion of the tribal hill tracts in the province also presented difficulties as the hillsmen, ethnically and culturally different from the dwellers in the Brahmaputra Valley, wanted a separate identity. In the interests of national security in a sensitive region, they were brought together under one administration.

Bringing the conglomeration of Princely States within the ambit of the new integrated nation-state the Congress leaders envisaged after freedom also presented many problems, the solution of which rested on Patel's shoulders as Minister of States.

VOL. VI: PATEL-NEHRU DIFFERENCES—ASSASSINATION OF GANDHI—SERVICES REORGANISED—REFUGEE REHABILITATION

Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru came to the brink of relinquishing office in each other's favour over differences, first arising out of communal disturbances in Ajmer-Merwara and later snowballing into serious conflict over the definition of the functions of the Prime Minister in relation to his colleagues and the preparation of memoranda by both for presentation to Gandhi for his adjudication. The assassination of Gandhi at this crucial period acted, however, as a cementing bond between them. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and similar organisations were banned.

C. Rajagopalachari was brought to the Centre as Governor-General in succession to Mountbatten. Restoring popular confidence after the Gandhi murder and curbing the extremist elements responsible for it without at the same time causing civil strife was the responsibility of Patel. The correspondence between Nehru and Patel on this subject reveals the different styles with which they functioned. Throughout the year, the influx of fresh waves of refugees and their rehabilitation continued to be a major preoccupation of the government, and it was Patel's lot to co-ordinate these tasks.

The difficulties encountered in providing cohesive and effective administrations in the provinces called for firm directives from Patel. In the United Provinces, the major conflict was between the veteran Congress leader Purushottamdas Tandon and Premier Pant and their political adversary Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. This was represented in the Press as a struggle between supporters of Patel and Nehru and a reflection of a power tussle at a higher level. Sharp differences arose in Assam between Governor Akbar Hydari and Chief Minister Gopinath Bardoloi, while Communist activities became a cause of worry in this province and in neighbouring West Bengal.

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Vol. VII: Integrating Indian States—Police Action in Hyderabad

The year 1948 was significant for the introduction of responsible government in many Princely States, and also for the attempts of some princes to block this process. Integration talks were launched and new groupings of states came into existence with popular ministers to run them. Not long after their induction, Patel was called upon to deal with the squabbles within these governments as well as between them and the princely heads of the new unions.

The papers relating to the States of Hyderabad and Junagadh have been brought together, for their case stands apart from that of the other states which voluntarily merged in the Indian Union as a result of the patriotic impulse of their rulers, who read the signs of the times. While the ruler of Junagadh fled to Pakistan, the Nizam dreamt of carving out an independent state in the belly of the Indian Union.

With this end in view, the Nizam's agents went on an arms buying spree in Europe and organised bands of thugs to terrorise the predominantly Hindu population of his State. Secret negotiations were also started with the British for the addition of Bastar State to his domain and the retrocession of Berar, which had been incorporated in the Central Provinces. Advances were made to the Portuguese Government about providing access to Hyderabad through Goa to the Arabian Sea.

Here, as in other instances of princely opposition to joining India, the undercover manoeuvrings of British officials and politicians, keen on seeing India weak and divided after independence, played an important part in stiffening the resistance of the Nizam and the feudal clique which supported him. After vain attempts to persuade the Nizam to agree peaceably to joining the Indian Union, as the vast majority of his subjects demanded, the Indian Government organised a "police action" to effect the merger. The story ends with the Nizam's surrender and expression of complete confidence in Sardar Patel's political sagacity.

Vol. VIII: Foreign Policy in Evolution—Constitution-making—Political and Administrative Problems

The future of India's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations, ties with Nepal, recognition of Communist China and disputes with Pakistan over canal waters, ill-treatment of minorities in Pakistan and evacuee property were important matters of

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foreign policy in which the Sardar made a significant contribution. The main task the Sardar undertook was to merge the Unions of Princely States with the adjoining states of the Indian Union, thus creating a bigger territorial unit than existed under the British or any former Raj.

Internally, differences arose over whether the first President of the Indian Republic should be C. Rajagopalachari or Dr.Rajendra Prasad. Nehru and Patel took different attitudes to mass agitation by the Akalis in East Punjab. The Hindu Code Bill was another issue on which eminent Congress leaders differed from the government's view.

The sentence of death was passed on 12 February on Nathuram Godse, the principal accused in the Gandhi murder case, and Patel overruled pleas for clemency. As Minister of Information and Broadcasting, he laid down a policy on the use of Hindi for the guidance of All India Radio.

Nehru visited the United States. Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, filled in for him. His confidential fortnightly letter of over 10,000 words to chief ministers of states elaborating his political, economic and administrative philosophy is in the nature of a will and testament.

Vol. IX: Political Controversies—Refugees from East Bengal—Territorial Integration of Princely States

Factionalism continued to cause administrative snarls in the states and provinces and to this were added charges of corruption and abuse of power against those in authority. The Sardar was deeply involved in trying to keep peace among the warring factions and weeding out the corrupt. A controversy erupted in West Bengal over the relative status of Bengali and Hindi for official purposes, and a movement for Greater Bengal, including East Pakistan, raised its head in the province.

Friction within the Madras Ministry was sharpened by popular demands for a separate Andhra Pradesh. Factions within the Punjab Congress came to be identified with Nehru and Patel. In Hyderabad, the Communists as well as communalists became active and caused anxiety to the State administration. The Communist-supported uprising of the peasants of Telengana, who employed force to dispossess the landlords and divide up their property, led to military operations against them.

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Communal riots broke out in West Bengal as more refugees streamed in from East Pakistan with stories of atrocities perpetrated on the Hindu minority there. The Congress party split in Andhra Pradesh at the same time as the Communist swung into action in the region. Master Tara Singh strove hard to stir up communal feeling in the Punjab. He advocated a cautious approach to the language problem in this province.

The partition of Bengal and the consequent loss of jute so necessary for mills in India was a matter of great concern to the Sardar who wanted the provinces to put more acreage under its cultivation. Food shortage equally worried him and he urged the provinces to open up waste lands and popularise modern and better techinques of agriculture among farmers. On other economic fronts he appealed to labour to shun strikes for the more reasonable procedure of arbitration of disputes. To Rajendra Prasad's objection that the Hindu Code Bill should not be rushed through the legislature, he said the party had debated it and decided "to support" it. He emphasised that even majority party decisions should be accepted and implemented by all members and objectors should quit. He stressed the need for quick action in the cases of suspended government servants.

Vol. X: Acute Power Struggle—Triumph of Mutual Accommodation—Warning against China

The highlight of foreign affairs was the Chinese invasion of Tibet, an event which raised the problem of security along the Himalayan border. In letters to Nehru and CR, the Sardar underscored the potential threats to India's sovereignty from this source. Pakistan's persecution of minorities, incursions into Indian territory and general hostility were other matters of concern to New Delhi. Efforts were even made to poison the good relations between India and Nepal. After the election of Rajendra Prasad as President, Nehru announced his intention of resigning the office of Prime Minister and devote himself to party activities. The Central Cabinet was reconstituted and CR entered it. There were several exchanges of correspondence between Nehru and Patel on matters of principle, including a definition of the powers of a governor. Finance Minister John Matthai resigned on an issue of principle, and this was followed by a bitter war of words.

In the Congress presidential elections, Nehru and Patel ranged on different sides. Nehru opposed Purushottamdas Tandon's nomination, and when Tandon was elected Nehru refused to join the Congress Working Committee. The Sardar's health began to fail.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFHQ	Armed Forces Headquarters
AFRC	Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee
AG	Adjutant-General
AI	Anglo-Indian
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIOIE	All India Organisation of Industrial Employees
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
ALC	Asian Labour Conference
ANA	American News Agency
API	Associated Press of India
APSV	Assistant Private Secretary to Viceroy
ASI	Assistant Sub-Inspector (Police)
BBCIR	Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway
CA	Constituent Assembly
CC	Chief Commissioner or Cabinet Committee
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
CID	Criminal Investigation Department or Committee of Imperial Defence
CIE	Companion of the Order of Indian Empire
CISR	Council of Industrial and Scientific Research
CJ	Chief Justice
CM	Cabinet Mission or Chief Minister
CP	Central Provinces
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPTWF	Central Provinces Textile Workers' Federation
CR	Chakravarti Rajagopalachari
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
DC	Deputy Commissioner
DGAIR	Director-General, All India Radio
DHC	Deputy High Commissioner
DIG	Deputy Inspector-General (Police)
DM	District Magistrate or Defence Minister

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DPSV	Deputy Private Secretary to Viceroy
FM	Field Marshal
FPJ	Free Press Journal
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
GG	Governor-General
GGC	Governor-General in Council
GHQ	General Headquarters
GIPR	Great Indian Peninsular Railway
HAC	Hindustan Aircraft Company
HC	High Commissioner
HE	His Excellency
HH	His Highness
HM	His Majesty or Honourable Member
HMG	His Majesty's Government
HMS	His Majesty's Service
HMSS	Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh
IA	Indian Army
IAF	Indian Air Force
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IH	India House
IMS	Indian Medical Service
INA	Indian National Army
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
IPC	Indian Penal Code
ITF	Indian Territorial Force
IU	Indian Union
JDC	Joint Defence Council
JPSV	Joint Private Secretary to Viceroy
KCIE	Knight Commander of Indian Empire
LA	Legislative Assembly
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MS	Military Secretary
NHQ	Naval Headquarters
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
NWR	North-Western Railway
OBE	Order of the British Empire
PIO	Principal Information Officer

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PMA	Pakistan Military Academy
PRO	Public Relations Officer
PS	Private Secretary
PSV	Private Secretary to Viceroy
QMG	Quarter-Master General
RAF	Royal Air Force
RIAF	Royal Indian Air Force
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
RPAF	Royal Pakistan Air Force
RPF	Railway Protection Force
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SAC	Special Armed Constabulary
SCHQ	Supreme Commander Headquarters
SGG	Secretary to Governor-General
SHO	Station House Officer
SI	Sub-Inspector (Police)
SP	Superintendent of Police
SSP	Senior Superintendent of Police
UCRW	United Council for Relief and Welfare
UK	United Kingdom
UP	United Provinces
UTC	University Training Corps
VC	Vice-Chancellor
WC	Working Committee

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GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

Babu	Term of respect used in Bengal and Bihar for members of the intelligentsia; also commonly used for a clerk
Dharma	religion
Gurdwara	Sikh shrine where the sacred Granth Sahib is read to a congregation
Idgah	premises where prayers are offered on the occasion of Id
Jai Hind	Victory to India
Jamiat-i-Ulema	an association of Muslim divines with nationalistic leanings
Jathas	processions
Koran	Muslim religious book
Lathi	long stick used by policemen to disperse crowds
Meos	a farming community inhabiting Gurgaon district of Haryana State and former princely states of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur. They are Rajput converts to Islam.
Mohalla	lane
Mullah	in Muslim countries, a learned man, teacher, doctor of the law; in India, the term is applied to a man who reads the Koran and also to a Muslim teacher who imparts religious education
Muslim League	political party of Muslims
Panchayat	court of arbitration (properly of five persons) to settle petty disputes
Pandit	title applied to those versed in Hindu scriptures but used commonly to denote a Brahmin
Praja Mandal	States Peoples' Association
Sikh	follower of Guru Nanak (1469-1538), first of the line of ten Gurus (leaders) who formulated a new faith to rid Hinduism of superstition and caste divisions

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME IV

This—the fourth volume in the series—records the most significant source material for the researcher in present-day Indian history. It deals with five main developments. First, the communal holocaust, its chain reaction and the psychological effect it produced on the minds of the chief actors in the drama of transfer of power. Second, the apple of discord the Cabinet Mission Plan became because of the hopes and fears it aroused among the contestants for power. Third, the Mountbatten Plan for the partition of the country into the Dominions of India and Pakistan and the impetus this gave to communal carnage, involving the uprooting of over 10 million people from their homes to seek refuge in the other dominion. Fourth, the acceleration of the process of absorption of Princely States into the Indian Dominion. Fifth, the preservation of law and order in the country as a whole, and more especially in the partitioned provinces of Punjab, Bengal and Assam and the neighbouring areas affected by refugee influx and efflux.

Of special interest in the context of the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent republic (as a result of India's victory in the 14-day war with Pakistan in December 1971) is the heated controversy over the plan or the plea for a sovereign Bengal as an escape from the proposed partition on a religious basis.

Naturally, Mountbatten, Nehru and Patel dominate the scene of action, each rising to great heights in the way they acted and reacted to the challenge of destiny and the compulsions of the hour.

That they appreciated each other's crucial role and did their best to reinforce it is characteristically brought out in the correspondence. Jawaharlal Nehru, writing to Patel inviting him to join the Cabinet he formed in August 1947 as head of independent India, said: "This writing is somewhat superfluous because you are the strongest pillar of the Cabinet." The Sardar, responding, recalled "our comradeship for an unbroken period of 30 years" and added that "our combination is unbreakable and therein lies our strength."

Mountbatten wrote to Patel on 14 August 1947: "It was, indeed, fortunate that a statesman of your vision and realism

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should have been associated with all the discussions on the 3 June plan and with all the subsequent vital and delicate negotiations with the States. . . . future generations will appreciate the full effect of the wise policy you have followed."

The Sardar, replying four days later, reciprocated: "In fact, what you have achieved in the way of friendship and goodwill merely emphasises what the long line of your predecessors have missed as a result of studied aloofness and failure to take into confidence leaders of public opinion."

Happy at the decision of the Labour Government to replace Wavell with Mountbatten, Patel wrote to Sir Stafford Cripps on 28 February 1947 expressing the hope "that the new Viceroy will come with full instructions so that the process of transfer of power may proceed smoothly and rapidly."

Cripps replied on 4 March: "I am sure you will like Mountbatten enormously as I do and respect him. He is very advanced in his views as you will find and you will like him too." Striking a personal note, Cripps added: "You must take care of yourself because you are terribly precious to India just now in these final months."

The desperate effort made by Patel to stop the communal flare-up is revealed in his repeated but unsuccessful pleading with Mountbatten's predecessor to introduce martial law in the affected areas in Bengal and Punjab. Wavell contended: "I do not think martial law, which has many grave disadvantages, is at present necessary." Colville, who acted while Wavell was in London, also held the same view that the wide powers of ordinances were sufficient to meet the requirements of the situation.

Wavell writes to Patel that a cartoon and certain reports from the Punjab appearing in the Hindustan Times of New Delhi contain matter "actionable under the (Press) ordinance." Patel in turn points out how the behaviour of Dawn, mouthpiece of the Muslim League, was much worse. How the Cabinet Mission plan intensified the communal approach is shown in the League's effort to capture the ministries in Punjab, Assam and the NWFP after the British declaration of 20 February.

Patel takes up the matter with Mountbatten, who thought that a joint Gandhi-Jinnah appeal for communal amity would work a miracle. Patel states bluntly that "the signature of Mr. Jinnah on the appeal is a mockery if he does not feel the urge to visit the areas (which had experienced a communal holocaust)

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such as Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi and Multan." In contrast, Patel added: "Gandhi is buried in the midst of a self-imposed mission in Bihar calculated to assuage the feelings of Muslims."

Giving "a fairly accurate appreciation of the reactions" to the Mountbatten plan of 3 June the Governor of Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins wrote to the Viceroy on 16 June 1947: "There is a complete absence of enthusiasm for the partition plan . . . nobody seems pleased and nobody seems to want to get on with the job . . . on the other hand, the political parties here acquiesce in the plan, but (as is usual in matters of this kind in India) for widely different reasons. Muslim Leaguers think it is a masterstroke by Jinnah, who has secured the recognition of Pakistan and will in the end get them all they want. Congressmen think it is a masterstroke by Patel, who, having pushed the Muslims into a corner (or into two corners) will be able to destroy them before very long."

The bitter controversy about the language All India Radio should use—Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani—is reflected in the correspondence as symptomatic of the widening distrust between the two major parties, making them move inexorably towards partition.

An interesting offshoot of the communal flare-up was the division in the ranks of the Bengal leaders on the question whether partition of the province could be avoided by opting for a sovereign united Bengal. Sarat Bose and Kiran Shankar Ray seemed arrayed on the side of a sovereign Bengal while S. P. Mookerjee and K. C. Neogy favoured "partition of Bengal, Pakistan or no Pakistan." Patel, expressing the hope in a letter to Dutt Mazumdar that "there will be no treachery," tells Neogy that "the cry of sovereign independent Bengal is a trap in which even Kiran Shankar Ray may fall with Sarat Babu. The only way to save the Hindus of Bengal is to insist on partition of Bengal and to listen to nothing else."

Sarat's last fling is: "Future generations will, I am afraid, condemn us for conceding division of India and supporting partition of Bengal and Punjab."

Should not India become a Hindu State, now that partition had created Pakistan? Patel firmly ruled this out in a letter to a top industrialist who had made the suggestion and affirmed his faith in a secular India.

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The Nawab of Chhatari wrote to Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, and Ghulam Mohammad, his Finance Minister, drawing attention to Sind Premier Khuhro's remark that "Sind Ministry is Islamic Government" and stating: "If they are going to form a theocratic government in Pakistan, there will be every justification for Hindus to form a Hindu Raj in the rest of India." His plea for a change of heart went unheeded.

The butchery, loot and rape that Bangladesh suffered at the hands of the Pakistan army in 1971 has an echo in the correspondence. The events of 1971 are only a magnified version of what happened in the early months of April 1947 when Punjabi police were drafted to Bengal by Premier Suhrawardy.

A resolution sent to Patel by a Congress district committee in Bengal stated that policemen from Punjab had raped and molested women and added that "the communal ministry of Bengal, by importing these beastly elements into Calcutta's police force, have more than proved that they have no right to remain in charge of the administration as a whole."

Some interesting sidelights from the correspondence are:

Patel to G.B. Pant:

> "Some of the Princes, particularly the smaller ones, have begun to feel that power is slipping from the Union Government's hands and thus think now is the opportunity for them to revert to pre-British days. Bharatpur is one of them." (The idea of an independent Jat State of Bharatpur was soon scotched.)
>
> "We cannot allow the (Aligarh) University to be used as a base for recruiting candidates for their (Pakistan) army."

Patel to Finance Minister Shanmukham Chetty:

> "Do not pay cash balances", and later : "The Cabinet has decided that no payment should be made (to Pakistan) until the Kashmir question has been settled."

Patel to Liaquat Ali Khan:

> "You will perhaps recall that I then said in the Partition Council that the division of the army on communal lines was the surest way of laying the foundation for a civil war."

G. S. Bozman, ICS, to Patel:

> "I need not conceal my dislike of the decision to divide India or apprehension of the possible consequences."

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Patel to Lord Ismay (a parting shot):

> "You have yourself seen how that friendship and goodwill burst forth when the psychological opportunity came on 15 August. It is now for your statesmen and your country to capitalise that friendship and that goodwill and not to let these be smothered by old controversies in their new form. . . . You have also witnessed the manner in which the country as a whole and the administration have accustomed themselves to the great and vital change from foreign rule to self-government. It is for you to convince your old chief (Churchill) whether you have had to deal here with men of straw or with men of substance."

2 Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi-1
2 October 1972

DURGA DAS

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SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

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CHAPTER I

WAVELL'S ROLE

1

17 York Road
New Delhi
2 January 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I hope you have recovered from your indisposition. I would see you today to discuss various matters. I shall try to come about lunch time but I have to go away at 2.30. Perhaps this evening we may have more time. But Aung San[1] is coming here this afternoon or evening.

Meanwhile, I enclose a letter from Bapu [Gandhi] for you and the draft resolution prepared under his guidance for the AICC.

Will you please see the cartoon in Dawn of I January? This is particularly offensive.

I saw the Viceroy yesterday and our talk was very revealing about his persistent attitude to push the Muslim League on. We are going to have all manner of additional difficulties. Of this later.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Revolutionary leader of Burma who became Prime Minister of Burmese Republic in 1946; assassinated on 19 July, 1947

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ENCLOSURE

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR AICC PREPARED UNDER GANDHIJI'S GUIDANCE

The AICC having considered the events that have taken place in the country since its meeting in November last, the statement issued by the British Government on 6 December, 1946, and the statement of the Working Committee of 22 December, 1946, advises Congressmen as follows:

1. The AICC endorses the statement of the Working Committee of 22 December, 1946, and expresses its agreement with the views contained therein.

2. While the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court on the question of interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become not only unnecessary but also undesirable owing to the recent announcements made on behalf of the British Government. A reference could only be made on an agreed basis, the parties concerned agreeing to abide by the decision given.

3. The AICC is firmly of opinion that the constitution for a free and independent India should be framed by the people of India on the basis of as wide an agreement as possible. There must be no interference whatsoever by the British power or any other external authority, and no compulsion on any province or part of a province by another province. The AICC realises and appreciates the difficulties placed in the way of some provinces, notably Assam and the NWFP, and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet's scheme of 16 May, 1946, and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in their statement of 6 December, 1946. The Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned. The British Government have said as much in this connection in their statement of 6 December.

4. The AICC is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a constitution for free India with the goodwill of all parties concerned and, with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agrees to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the sections.

5. The consequence of this may be that a province or group might prefer to keep out of the Constituent Assembly or any of its sections in the initial stages. Those who participate in the Constituent Assembly or the sections will

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proceed to frame a constitution in terms of the Cabinet Mission's statement, which constitution will be initially binding on them alone.

6. The constitution must be framed for the whole of India with specific provision laying down how those who have not participated in its making may avail themselves of it.

2

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
25 January 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

My attention has been drawn to the Fortnightly Political Appreciations which are sent out by the Information & Broadcasting Department to each Representative of India abroad, to certain British embassies, and to all Members of the Cabinet here.

2. I have read the last two appreciations, and it does seem to me that they are open to criticism on the ground that they tend to take a party point of view. These appreciations which go out from the Government of India clearly should be made as objective as possible, and though I appreciate the difficulty of doing this, I am sure you will agree in principle.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

3

New Delhi
29 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

I was not a little surprised to receive your letter of 25 January regarding the Fortnightly Political Appreciations, but it then occurred to me that you were used to war-time standard of objectivity in these Appreciations.

1 Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 20 October 1943; GOC-in-C, Southern Command, 1938-39; Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, 1939-41; ADC General to the King, 1941

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2. The Appreciation is prepared in draft by the Principal Information Officer and is then scrutinised by [A.E.] Porter[1] and [G.S.] Bozman.[2] This scrutiny is as thorough as one can expect. It then comes to me for final approval. My main concern is to see that the Appreciation conforms to the principle of objectivity to which you have referred and with which I am in complete accord. Any changes that I make are guided by this principle and I take care to see, at this stage, that as a whole the Appreciation reflects the political reactions as voiced in the Press during the relevant period. In the two Appreciations, to which you have referred, I found little to add from this point of view. You have, of course, to bear in mind that during these periods while the Congress circles were active, the League was quiescent and it was therefore inevitable that the activities of the former should figure more prominently than those of the latter. But for that the department can hardly be blamed.

3. I have looked up the two Appreciations again, but I am unable to find anything to which one could reasonably take objection. However, if you have any particular portions to point out, I would welcome the opportunity of re-examining them with a view to improvement in future.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Field Marshal
The Right Honourable Viscount Wavell

4

New Delhi
26 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

The comments of some of my colleagues of the Muslim League on the situation in the Punjab, caused by an open defiance, by some members of the League, of legal orders promulgated by lawful authority, have in my view transgressed the bounds of propriety and discretion, the observance of which was incumbent on them as Members of Government.

[1] ICS; Secretary, Home Department, during Interim Government in India, 1946-47

[2] ICS; last post in India, Secretary, Department of Information and Broadcasting, 1946-47

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2. I do not think it is either fair or proper that Members of the Central Government should indulge in open criticism of any lawful action taken by the Provincial Government in the discharge of their responsibility. Provincial Governments have right to expect the co-operation of the Central Government in their difficult task of maintaining law and order. That, apart from withholding it, any of us should attribute motives or make comments which would encourage defiance to lawful orders or render their task more difficult is a negation of that accommodation between the Central and Provincial Governments, which is essential if we are to avoid an open conflict between the Centre and the provinces.

3. I feel that there is still time to prevent this dangerous tendency from becoming further accentuated and stop matters from passing from unfair criticism to open encouragement to defiance. I would, therefore, suggest for Your Excellency's consideration that the impropriety of the action of the Members concerned may be impressed upon them and they may be informed that consistently with their duties and obligations as Members of Government, they should refrain from any comments or criticism which would be likely to embarrass the Government of the Punjab in its present difficulties. Of course, if they wish to continue in their course, the only honourable course for them is to resign.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

5

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
27 January 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday about the comments of some of your colleagues on the situation in the Punjab. I have spoken to the Finance Member [Liaquat Ali Khan][1] on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Landlord of UP; member of provincial legislature, 1926-39; MLA (Central), 1941 and Deputy Leader of Muslim League; Finance Minister in Interim Government formed by Nehru in 1946; Prime Minister of Pakistan after partition; assassinated on 16 October, 1951

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6

New Delhi
14 February 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

You will recall that some time ago I wrote to you regarding the impropriety of Muslim League Members of the Central Government issuing public statements criticising the conduct of the Punjab Government in grossly disparaging terms. You then replied to me that you had spoken to the Finance Member about it. I expected that things would improve, but instead I notice in today's Dawn that the Finance Member himself has issued a statement which not only offends in the above-mentioned respect, but seeks to draw, from the happenings in the Punjab, a portent of what might be achieved on an all-India scale. Things have been made worse by a clear hint that matters might take a violent turn.

2. I also enclose a cutting from the Free Press Journal (dated 7-2-'47) of Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan[1]'s speech at Lahore. I would particularly invite attention to the following passage:

> "Mohammed Bin Kassim and Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India with armies composed of only a few thousands, and yet were able to overpower lakhs of Hindus; God willing, a few lakhs of Muslims will yet overwhelm crores of Hindus."

The parallel drawn is significant, particularly in regard to Ghazni's invasion, which consisted of repeated raids on India in which Hindus were killed in thousands and temples were destroyed.

3. I am sure you will not regard with equanimity such utterances of your two colleagues of the Cabinet. A more flagrant breach of the rules of responsibility incumbent on Members of the Central Government would be difficult to find. Instances like this only serve to strengthen our conviction that a corporate body like the Central Government has ceased to exist and that the sooner the present state of affairs is put an end to, the better.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

[1] Muslim Leaguer who joined Interim Government as Health Member; earlier, member, Central legislature, and for short period Minister of Alwar as nominee of Political Department

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ENCLOSURE

Lahore (By Mail)

"Mohammed Bin Kassim and Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India with armies composed of only a few thousands, and yet were able to overpower lakhs of Hindus; God willing, a few lakhs of Muslims will yet overwhelm crores of Hindus," said Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member, Interim Government, speaking at a meeting at Idgah Maidan on Saturday last.

He added, the Muslims would achieve Pakistan and also bring liberation to the Hindus who had been slaves for several decades.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan also attended the meeting.

Referring to the Punjab situation, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan declared that the Punjab League movement was not directed against any particular community, but was launched to regain civil liberties which had been suppressed by the Unionist Government in order to crush its opponent, the Muslim League. He also attacked the Sikh community, which, he said, was always exploited by the British, the Hindus and the Congress by turns.

Referring to the Constituent Assembly, he said the League had been the first to accept the Cabinet Mission's Plan and extend its hand of co-operation to the Congress, but the latter failed to appreciate the League's action. It was scandalous to call the present Assembly at Delhi a Constituent Assembly, he said; it was purely a Hindu-dominated body, and its proceedings would not be binding on all.

He would not advise the Muslims to win their rights by means of civil war, but he said they should be prepared for all eventualities.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, addressing the meeting earlier, said that the problems of India could not be solved unless the claims of the Muslims for Pakistan were conceded.

Referring to the resolution passed by the Working Committee reiterating its decision not to participate in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that if the Assembly work was carried through irrespective of whether the League co-operated or not, the Constituent Assembly decisions would meet with the fate of the former Motilal Nehru Report [on constitutional reforms].

The Finance Member accused the Congress of avoiding an honourable settlement with the League. The Congress, he said, was out to achieve Akhand Hindustan, by a revolution if necessary. The revolution would sweep away

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the Muslims of India unless they stood united and were prepared for all contingencies.

He advised the Muslims in the country to follow strictly the tenets of the Koran which did not permit aggression against the weak.

Speaking about the problems of Sind itself, both the League members of the Interim Government stressed that it should be the primary aim of the League Ministry to educate the masses and work for their economic betterment.

Besides attacking the Constituent Assembly, the League leaders also condemned the Congress Ministries in India for failing to protect the interests of the Muslim minorities. The recent Bihar happenings were recalled in this connection.

Free Press Journal
7 February 1947

7

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
16 February 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th about statements and speeches made by Muslim League Members of the Interim Government. I have already spoken on this subject to our colleagues and will do so again.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

8

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
3 February 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I have gone through the paper which you gave me about the composition of the Advisory Committees for Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara.

2. It is clearly impossible to devise a formula which would give exact representation to the various communities in proportion to

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their numbers, without making the committees unwieldy; and I agree with the plan set forth in your note.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

9

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
9 March 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I think you may be interested in the enclosed extract from a letter I have received from the Governor of Bihar. The Governor has not suggested that I should mention the matter of police discipline to you, but what he says seems to me so serious as to justify my drawing your attention to it.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER DATED 3 MARCH 1947, FROM THE GOVERNOR OF BIHAR TO THE VICEROY

Tampering with the discipline of the police force still goes on, and although it is beginning to cause the Ministry some anxiety, they have taken no effective steps to deal with it. Part of it is the aftermath of the Prime Minister's own open disregard of the advice of the late IG, Mr. Creed,[1] and the consequent weakening of the IG's authority over the force. The ex-constable, Ramanand Tiwari, still openly suborns the police, and has so far not been arrested; his influence with the rank and file is now so great that his arrest for a mere technical offence would probably do more harm than good. In spite of rules and orders, constables still attend political meetings and subscribe to various political parties, and are not punished. An even more dangerous movement is now afoot to divide the police into two separate communal camps. Muslim constables are being urged to demand that they should be organised in separate formations, failing which they should strike en masse. They are being encouraged to do this by the offer of recruitment into the police force of Muslim majority provinces such as Sind and Bengal.

1 Appointed to Indian Police and posted to Bihar in 1919; Inspector-General of Police, 1944; retired in 1949

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10

New Delhi
10 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Many thanks for your letter dated 9 March 1947 about police discipline in Bihar.

2. It was good of you to have drawn my attention to the Governor's views regarding the state of discipline, and I agree that the matter is serious enough. The Prime Minister of Bihar is coming here day after tomorrow and I shall avail myself of this opportunity to ascertain the position and to speak to him of the need for appropriate action to put matters right.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

11

New Delhi
14 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with my letter dated 10 March 1947 regarding police discipline in Bihar.

2. I have had a talk with the Prime Minister of Bihar, who, I find, is quite alive to the requirements of the situation. He tells me that a warrant has already issued against ex-constable Ramanand Tiwari.

3. The Governor in his letter referred to the Prime Minister disregarding the advice of the late IGP, Mr. Creed. It appears that this was done because the legal advice did not support prosecution. It is surprising that the Governor should have expected the Prime Minister to ignore legal advice and to uphold that of the IGP.

4. Regarding the Muslim constables being urged to demand separate formations, I understand that the proposal is being actively canvassed by the Muslim League circles and the lead in this

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matter is given by the President of the Muslim League. If the Prime Minister took any action and thus got himself involved at this stage in open struggle with the League, I am sure he would be blamed for having unnecessarily precipitated a crisis.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

12

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
15/16 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

H.E. asks me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of 14 March about your conversation with the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of Bihar on the discipline of the police in the province.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. Abell[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

13

New Delhi
15 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

The situation in the Punjab has been a matter of grave concern and anxiety to me since the past few days and I have been considering how best we could bring it under control as soon as possible. Both private advice and official reports confirm that, while the authorities have been able, to some extent, to bring under control the communal disturbances in the cities, those in rural areas, particularly in the districts of Multan, Rawalpindi, Attock, Campbellpur and Mianwali are still defying the efforts of the civil power in collaboration with the military authorities. Instances of murder, forced conversions, abductions, etc., are fairly common, while acts of arson and loot are being perpetrated with impunity on a very extensive scale. It is clear from the

[1] ICS; Secretary to Lord Wavell, Viceroy and Governor-General of India

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telegrams of the Governor of the Punjab that the position in rural areas has been deteriorating despite attempts to check it and that infiltration has started even from across the Indus.

2. As far as I can judge, these disturbances, both in intensity and extent, have thrown Bihar in the shade. Any further prolongation of these disturbances would seriously disturb the situation in the Eastern Punjab where, according to the Punjab Governor's report, high tension is prevailing all over. I have no doubt in my mind that only the severest measures can curtail the duration of these disturbances, particularly in the rural areas in Northern and Western Punjab, and I would impress upon you, with all the earnestness at my command, the desirability—in fact the necessity—of enforcing martial law in the worst effected areas. I feel that the situation warrants it and the failure of the efforts of the civil power to bring the situation in these areas under control fully justifies this step.

3. I realise how distasteful this step would be to you on the eve of your departure from India. In fact, I have often expressed my regret at the fact that the end of your Viceroyalty should see a situation hardly less alarming and tragic than its commencement. The latter was the legacy of the past and we still take pleasure in recalling how the effective intervention of a military mind contributed to the alleviation of the situation. I hope that firm and determined action of the kind I have suggested within the next few days will enable you to hand over to your successor a better legacy than you received from your predecessor.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

14

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
16 March 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I have received your letter of 15 March about the Punjab.

2. I am sure that everything possible is being done to restore order in the Punjab, and a fair measure of success has already been achieved. I do not think that martial law, which has many grave disadvantages, is at present necessary. Nor does it seem

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that the casualties are on the Bihar scale, though one cannot be sure of the figures at present.

3. The Hindustan Times of 15 March, both in its cartoon and in the report from the Punjab, seems to me to contain matter which is actionable under the Press Ordinance. I realise the depth of feeling that has been aroused by these communal disturbances, but I think that you should look into the question whether or not action should be taken against The Hindustan Times.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

15

New Delhi
19 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

I thank you for your D.O. of the 16th instant.

2. I note that you do not seem to favour the use of martial law in the worst affected areas. I still feel more severe action is required. From the latest telegram you will notice that the situation in the Eastern Punjab is full of explosive possibilities, and any prolongation of the disturbed conditions in the North and Western Punjab might bring about a flare-up at any time. However, if you still feel that the action which is being taken is adequate, I must wait till further developments.

3. Regarding para 3 of your letter, I agree that the cartoon of the Hindustan Times was open to objection, but I do not think it is actionable under the present ordinance which, as you will recall, is limited to anything likely to promote communal hatred. It would be impossible to establish that the cartoon has this effect. It is no doubt a vulgar or mischievous cartoon, but if you have been reading the Dawn, you would find that even worse things have been appearing there; I enclose a cartoon which appeared some time ago. I am sure this cartoon does not suffer by comparison with the one to which you refer. It may be noted that the report attributed to the Home Department in the cartoon is wholly false.

4. As regards the report which appeared in the Hindustan Times, my difficulty is that similar things have been appearing in other papers, and the article to which you referred followed the lead

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given by other papers, as for example the Statesman. The execution of the ordinance is left, as you know, in the first instance to the Chief Commissioner. I have had enquiries made, and it appears that the Chief Commissioner has not initiated any action against any of the papers which have been indulging in similar objectionable behaviour, ever since the trouble started in the Punjab after the resignation of the Khizr Ministry. I have already informally spoken to the Managing Editor of the Hindustan Times, and am also considering how best these breaches of the convention and possible breaches of the ordinance could be dealt with.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

16

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
20 March 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday about the Punjab. I hope the Governor's Act and the Central Ordinance, which have just been put out, may have the necessary effect and avoid the grave disadvantages of martial law.

2. I realise the difficulty about control of the Press, and I certainly recognize that there are offences on both sides, but I am glad you have spoken to the Managing Editor of the Hindustan Times and are considering how breaches of the convention and of the law should be dealt with in future.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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17

New Delhi
22 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am sorry to trouble you on the eve of your departure with the enclosed copy of a telegram which the Managing Editor of the Hindustan Times has received from the President of the Singh Sabha, Gujarkhan, in Rawalpindi district, and the former's letter to the Secretary to H.E. the Governor of the Punjab. But I thought that the description given there would be of interest to you. It may be an exaggerated picture, but it could not be wholly untrue.

2. You will notice that the Hindustan Times did not publish the telegram.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

ENCLOSURE

COPY OF MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT, SINGH SABHA, GUJARKHAN, 19 MARCH 1947

MUSLIMS LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL SLAUGHTER AND ARSON OF SIKH LIFE AND PROPERTY IN THE DISTRICTS OF CAMPBELLPORE RAWALPINDI AND CHAKWAL SUBDIVISION OF JHELUM. GUJARKHAN AND PINDI TOWNS ARE CORDONED. TO SAVE THEIR HONOUR AND RELIGION HUNDREDS OF WOMEN JUMPED INTO WELLS AND COMMITTED SUICIDE. HUNDREDS OF SIKHS AND HINDUS HAVE BEEN BURNT AND BUTCHERED ALTHOUGH THEY VALIANTLY DEFENDED THEMSELVES AGAINST HEAVY ODDS. SIKHS ARE THE CHIEF TARGET. IN DUBHERAN SMALL VILLAGE IN KAHUTA TEHSIL PEOPLE AFTER WOUNDING WERE THROWN IN SMOULDERING FIRE. NUMBER OF GIRLS COMMITTED SUICIDE. AT DHAMALI NEAR DUBHERAN NUMBER OF SURVIVORS DOES NOT EXCEED 20 PERCENT. THESE RESIDENTS KEPT THE MUSLIM MOB SHOUTING PAKISTAN AT BAY FOR FOUR DAYS EVENTUALLY OVERPOWERED BY OVERWHELMINGLY LARGE NUMBER. MRS SANT GULABSINGH ADVOCATE JUMPED INTO THE WELL AND WAS FOLLOWED BY 60 WOMEN. NUMBER OF BUTCHERED IS VERY HEAVY. KAHUTA WAS BURNT BY MUSLIMS AFTER THE EVACUATION BY MILITARY.

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MEHLWAN DORA KAUNTRILA GULYANA DEHRA BAKHSHIA IN DHERA KHALSA ANDAN BHAGPUR BANDA BASSALI TAKHAT PARI NARALI SAYYED DEVI TAWIN PANGRIN GORSIAN MOGHAL SANJOT NADJIL TALLA SAGRI KURI SIALA PINJORBAZAR OF KALLAR AND MANY OTHERS HAVE [been] BURNT. AT DHALA 12 PERSONS WERE SET TO FIRE AFTER SPRINKLING OIL ON THEIR GARMENTS. SUKHO AND DAULTALA GAVE GOOD FIGHT AND BEFORE THEIR FALL MILITARY ARRIVED TO THEIR SUCCOUR. DHUDIAL RESIDENTS GAVE GOOD FIGHT TO MUSLIM MOB FOR FOUR DAYS. OFFICIALS ARRANGED PEACE AND TOOK AWAY LEGITIMATE ARMS FROM SIKHS WITHOUT DISARMING THE INSURGENT MUSLIMS WHO BURNT THE TOWN AFTER THIS. SIKHS' HAIR AND BEARDS FORCIBLY SHORN. HINDUS AND SIKHS COMPELLED TO EAT BEEF. GURDWARAS AND TEMPLES DESECRATED AND DESTROYED. EIGHT THOUSAND REFUGEES HAVE ARRIVED GUJARKHAN SO FAR AND LOCAL PUBLIC SPARING NO PAINS IN SERVICE. EVEN IN LOCAL CIVIL HOSPITAL MILK AND FOOD ARE SUPPLIED FREE TO SERIOUSLY WOUNDED BY NONOFFICIAL AGENCY. RETIRED MUSLIM MILITARY PERSONS CONDUCTED OPERATIONS. NONMUSLIMS IN VILLAGES OF GUJARKHAN AND KAHUTA TEHSIL ARE 26000 AND 11000 RESPECTIVELY. STATE OF AFFAIRS HIGHLY DEPLORABLE AND SURPASSES ALL INHUMAN ATROCITIES.

18

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
22 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

His Excellency asks me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of 22 March enclosing a telegram which the Managing Editor of the Hindustan Times has received from the President of the Singh Sabha, Gujarkhan, and the Managing Editor's letter to the Secretary to H.E. the Governor of the Punjab. He is sorry not to be able to answer personally, but as you appreciate he is very busy this afternoon.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. Abell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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19

New Delhi
22 April 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I have received information that a planned attempt is being made in Calcutta to create substantial pockets of Muslims throughout the city and this is creating a certain amount of panic in the city. One such instance is reported to be underlying the efforts of the Government of Bengal to secure a big plot of land in Ballygunge which belongs to the military. The plot is right in front of Birla Park and the whole population of the locality is apparently perturbed at this development. I should be glad if you would please look into this matter and see if anything could be done to prevent it. If there are any similar instances, I am sure you will give the matter due consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Member for Defence
New Delhi

20

Camp Birla House
Mussoorie
21 May 1947

Dear Sir John Colville,[1]

I have been receiving some letters and telegrams from Lahore regarding the serious situation in the city. Arson and stabbings on a large scale have been taking place, and therefore it seems the situation has not been brought under control. In fact, the latest telegram from the Governor of the Punjab seems to indicate that the general population, and even top-ranking leaders, are reconciled to the inevitability of the continuance of trouble.

[1] Governor of Bombay for several years; three times Acting Viceroy and Governor-General of India

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I feel that, particularly at the present juncture, the continuance of such a state of affairs is fraught with dangerous potentialities. I had some correspondence with Lord Wavell just before he left for England, in which I suggested to him the desirability of imposing martial law in the affected areas of the Punjab. He then replied that he felt that a middle course should first be followed. And the result was the enactment of two ordinances to arm the executive and the military with special powers to deal with the disturbances. It seems that these special powers are not proving effective, and a suggestion has been received that the city should be placed under martial law. None can appreciate better than the ordinary civilian the difficulties and handicaps of a martial law regime, but at the same time it is of the utmost importance these days that a disturbed situation is brought under control with the least possible delay and with the minimum possible waste of time and life. At a Cabinet meeting, Lord Mountbatten[1] gave the assurance that in future such disturbances would be put down with an iron hand.

In these circumstances, I would request you to consider once again, in consultation with the Governor of the Punjab, the suggestion which has been made to me by responsible leaders of the Punjab that the worst affected areas of the city should be placed under the military.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency
Sir John Colville, GCIE, TD

21

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
24 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 21 May, which I have just received. Since you wrote the situation in Lahore has improved to some extent, and a telegram I received from the Governor this morning reports that the city is relatively quiet.

[1] Last British Governor-General of India, March 1947-August 1947; carried out partition of India and transfer of power to India and Pakistan in August 1947; first Governor-General of Independent India till June 1948

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2. I have been disturbed since I have been here about the situation in Lahore and Amritsar and have been in close touch with the Governor daily. In a telegram I received two days ago Sir Evan Jenkins[1] told me that he would like, at as earlier date as possible, a complete Brigade for the Lahore area alone, in addition to troops already allocated.

3. I had a talk with Sardar Baldev Singh[2] about this request, and, after consultation with the Deputy Commander-in-Chief, it has with regret been found impossible to meet it. As you know, the 4th Division is already well on its way up to the Punjab. The reserve of troops available in India is low and the Deputy Commander-in-Chief feels, and I agree with him, that it would be unwise to dissipate our reserves at the present time as it is by no means certain yet that HMG's forthcoming announcement may not be followed by further disorders.

4. The Deputy Commander-in-Chief, with the approval of Sardar Baldev Singh, is, therefore, sending a telegram to the Army Commander today, pointing out that very wide powers are given to the military by the Punjab Disturbed Areas (Special Powers of Armed Forces) Ordinance, 1947, and that if these powers are properly used they should be adequate for any purpose which the authorities may require.

5. I am getting into touch with the Governor of the Punjab again today, Saturday, but I am sure that he feels that the powers available to him are adequate, and that with the arrival of the extra troops in the immediate future the position should improve. I do not think that martial law, which has many grave disadvantages, is at present necessary, as I feel that the wide powers of the ordinance which I have quoted above should be sufficient.

Yours sincerely,
John Colville

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

1 ICS; Chief Commissioner of Delhi during World War II; Secretary in Department of Supply; Private Secretary to Viceroy, Lord Wavell; Governor of Punjab, 1946

2 Started political career as Akali leader; Development Minister, Punjab, 1942-46; joined Congress and served as Defence Minister in Nehru Cabinet, 1946-52

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New Delhi
30 May 1947

Dear Sir John Colville,

Thank you for your letter dated 24 May 1947 regarding the situation in Lahore.

2. From the latest telegram it does appear that the situation is comparatively quiet. But at the same time it is quite clear that high tension still persists and that it seems that the local authorities apprehend trouble to break out anywhere at any moment. You must have noticed that it has already broken out in a very serious form in Gurgaon district where both communities have embarked on an extensive plan of mutual destruction.

3. Hitherto it appears that the policy has been followed of dealing with the situation when it arises and that too not with a view to scotching it before it gets worse, but with a view to bringing it gradually under control. The result is obvious. The disturbances persist for some considerable time; casualties and damage mount up gradually; both sides make preparations for blows and counter-blows; tension spreads and feelings of revenge overtake a much larger area. I sincerely feel that this policy is completely unsuitable for the present moment, though it might have some advantages in ordinary times. Action to deal with the situation should be both swift and timely and the sterner the measures taken to start with, the better the hope of localising the trouble and curbing it with the least possible delay. I feel that something should be done to impress upon the provincial authorities in the Punjab the need for adjustment of their action to deal with disturbances on this basis.

4. This seems to me all the more necessary from the implication contained in pargraph 4 of your letter that the available powers have not been utilised to the extent that they should have been. But it appears from the Governor's telegram of 21 May, to which I have referred in my telegram to you from Mussoorie, that cases happen under the very noses of the police without the culprits being traced. I have also received several complaints about police inaction or partiality on account of the predominant Muslim composition of the force. The Governor

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himself admits that the police in the Punjab are tired owing to prolonged disturbances. This, to my mind, even further emphasises the need for swift action to start with rather than later. It is axiomatic that statutory powers are of no avail if the machinery of enforcement is inadequate or not sufficiently active. It is in this sense that I feel that if the civil power is unable to deliver the goods with such military aid as has been placed at its disposal, there is no alternative but to bring the military in at the earliest opportunity rather than as late as possible.

5. I hope it will be possible for you to review the situation in the Punjab in consultation with the Governor in the light of what I have said above.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir John Colville

23

TELEGRAM

CONFIRMATION COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO THE VICEROY FROM MUSSOORIE DATED 26 MAY 1947

HAVE JUST SEEN PUNJAB GOVERNOR'S TELEGRAM DATED 21 MAY 1947 ABOUT LAHORE SITUATION. IT IS CLEAR THAT POLICE ARE UNABLE TO CONTROL SITUATION AND THAT EVEN MILITARY AID IS NOT PROVING ADEQUATE. I AM SURE YOUR EXCELLENCY REALISES DANGEROUS POTENTIALITIES OF CONTINUED DISTURBANCES IN LAHORE. CONSEQUENCES MAY NOT BE CONFINED TO PUNJAB ALONE. I FEEL GOVERNOR'S TELEGRAM FULLY VINDICATES STAND IN MY LETTER DATED 21 MAY REGARDING PLACING SERIOUSLY AFFECTED AREAS IN LAHORE UNDER MILITARY REGIME. I WOULD EARNESTLY ADVISE YOUR EXCELLENCY TAKE ACTION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
19 April 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Dr. [John] Matthai[1] has suggested to me that I should initiate a move to secure a proper follow-up by the Press of all parties for the appeal signed by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah.[2]

This is an interesting suggestion and it is certainly important that there should be such a follow-up; otherwise the effect of the appeal will very soon wear off.

However, before I consider this further I should be grateful if you would let me know what plans you have as Member in charge of Information and Broadcasting for inducing the Press to implement the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal in a realistic way.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

25

New Delhi
20 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I received your letter dated 19 April yesterday afternoon on my return from Bombay after my Gujarat tour.

2. In the message which I sent to the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, I had already appealed to the editors to assist Government in dealing with the difficult times through which we are passing. When I was at Surat, I received a suggestion from my secretary that I should send another message to the

[1] Educationist and economist; Vice-Chancellor, Bombay and Kerala Universities; MLC (Madras), 1922-25; joined Tatas in 1944; Central Minister, 1947-50; rejoined Tatas, 1950-55; later Chairman, Board of Directors, State Bank of India

[2] President, All-India Muslim League and first Governor-General of Pakistan

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conference to take action regarding the appeal issued by Gandhiji and Jinnah. Since the League Press is not represented in the conference, I thought it futile to make a suggestion to one side only to follow up the appeal. I am, therefore, issuing another message to all newspapers asking them to print the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal repeatedly in a prominent position, particularly at any time when local tension or similar circumstances require it. A copy of my message is enclosed for your perusal.

3. All India Radio are being instructed similarly to use the appeal at frequent intervals, and in particular in their rural programmes which reach listeners who may not be able to read the newspapers. A letter is also going to all associations of film exhibitors urging them to ask of their members to use the appeal on a cinema slide in various languages to be shown at intervals or at other appropriate times in their programmes. Finally, an express letter is going to all Provincial Governments informing them of the action taken by us and suggesting that they should produce posters and leaflets in the languages of the provinces and give them the widest and most prominent distribution possible.

4. If you consider that my department can be useful in any other way in this direction, please let me know, and I shall see that the needful is done.

5. But I feel I should be failing in my duty and be untrue to myself if I concealed my innermost conviction that unless and until the Muslim League is compelled to withdraw its "Direct Action" resolution and this step is followed up by active attempts to keep its followers in check and under control, the necessary psychological atmosphere in which the appeal could strike a responsive chord would be completely lacking, and the appeal itself would not serve much useful purpose. It is futile to expect an ordinary man in the street to exercise restraint or to make any positive contribution to the restoration of feelings of amity if incidents are happening which outrage and inflame public opinion. After reading an account of the wholesale murders, looting, arson and forced conversions of non-Muslims in Dera Ismail Khan, there would indeed be few among them who would be able to pay any attention to an appeal to eschew violence. I am enclosing a typical example of the letters which I receive from different corners of India together with the cutting to which the writer refers. I am also sending you another cutting which gives the allegations in greater detail. Such are the events on which the mass mind is being fed and such is the reaction which is being

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produced! While untold sufferings and outrages are being perpetrated on non-Muslims and minorities are being systematically eliminated in the Muslim majority areas and organised wholesale preparations are being made to "capture" the province of Assam, without any corresponding effort on the part of the League leaders to deal with their followers on the spot, in contrast Gandhiji is buried in the midst of his self-imposed mission in Bihar calculated to assuage the feelings of Muslims in regard to a tragedy which overtook them six months ago and which was quelled under the active intervention of Congress Members of the Interim Government within a week. The signature of Mr. Jinnah on the appeal is a mockery if he does not himself feel the urge to visit the areas such as Dera Ismail Khan, Rawalpindi and Multan which are, or have been, the scenes of orgies of murder, arson and loot. If he is sincere in his appeal, his place is quite clearly in the Frontier to restrain his followers and not in Delhi.

6. Ever since you assumed office and I had my first interview with you, I have been pressing upon you the need for urgent action. While I do not deny that the signature of Mr. Jinnah on the truce would be a creditable achievement, if sincerely followed up, I feel that the time, which we are letting slip and every day that these tragedies are being perpetrated without securing positive action such as I have suggested above, would make the success of your mission more remote than ever. You have already acquired a reputation for being a man of quick decision and action and a person possessed of a great sense of urgency. India has also been impressed by the earnestness of purpose and the message of goodwill underlying your first speech on the assumption of office, but the sands of time are running out and I hope you will believe me when I say that the man in the street is already commenting that a month has elapsed, while bestiality still prevails in the NWFP and parts of the Punjab and Bengal. I shall appeal to you with all the earnestness at my command to create, by securing a firm and positive action from the League such as I have stressed above, a psychological atmosphere in which the excellent appeal issued by both the leaders will touch the hearts of the people. Therein lies the only chance of putting an end to the tension and the insecurity, which the poisoned atmosphere, ever since the passage of the 'Direct Action' resolution in July and the first sample of its enforcement on 16 August 1946, has created and continued to promote and which the attempts of the League, after the declaration of 20 February, to capture the provinces of Assam, NWFP and the Punjab have accentuated, and to the

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resultant tragedies which have overtaken thousands of men, women and children.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Rear Admiral the Viscount
Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

MESSAGE FROM SARDAR TO NEWSPAPERS

The forthright call for self-discipline and a halt to senseless bloodshed and violence, issued by Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah, has been universally welcomed and acclaimed in India. But the appeal should not be allowed to remain a mere pious expression of hope and sentiments and it is incumbent on all of us in our respective sphere of duty and service to follow it up by instant and effective action. The Press can make a worthy contribution not only by featuring the appeal prominently at intervals or whenever tension and communal feelings threaten to get the better of human reason or judgment, but also by bearing it in mind in the treatment and presentation of communal matters. A moment's reflection on the message and significance of the appeal may prevent a hasty word or deed from doing incalculable harm to life and property. I would, therefore, appeal to every newspaper and periodical to respond to the appeal in the spirit in which it was made, to give it all possible prominent publicity and to make it an article of faith and a guide to action.

26

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
22 April 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 20 April. I note what you are doing about the Press and I am glad you have made an appeal to support the one by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah.

I sympathise with much that you say in paragraphs 4 and 5 but you know the difficulties. I have talked to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Mr. Nishtar[1] and asked

[1] Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar: MLA (NWFP), 1937; Finance Minister, 1934-45; member, Working Committee, All-India Muslim League; member, CA; Member for Communications, Interim Government, from 26 October, 1946, until partition

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them to do whatever they can to reduce the tension on the Frontier and to ensure that Dawn takes a more reasonable line. I am going to the Frontier myself in a week's time.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

27

New Delhi
23 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your letter dated 22 April, 1947.

I am glad you are visiting the Frontier. In fact, I was going to suggest it myself and thought of utilising my tomorrow's interview for the purpose. But I would suggest the inclusion in your programme of the affected areas of Rawalpindi, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu districts. I am sure your visit to these areas will not only give you first-hand information of what has taken place and how the minorities in that area have been affected, but will also go some way towards reassuring the minorities that they are in your thoughts and that they could depend on your interest in their protection and welfare.

I know how difficult it is for you to get away from Delhi, but I would recall to your mind how Lord Wavell's visit soon after his assumption of office to famine-stricken Bengal built up a fund of goodwill which was of such assistance to him for years to come. He also visited other riot-affected areas shortly after disturbances.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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28

New Delhi
22 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

The enclosed cutting from the Dawn of 21 April 1947 regarding "Radio Pakistan" will interest you. The exhortation to tune in to an illegal radio station, the clear aim of which is to promote "direct action" by nefarious means, fits ill with the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

A new radio station has lately come on the air (not AIR) which presumably operates "underground." It begins and ends its programmes with the slogan: "Pakistan Zindabad!".

Listeners in Delhi can hear it on the 70 metre band at 8.30 a.m. and 8 p.m. Reception is not very distinct but it is audible, and better in the evenings. It also comes on the air at other times, which are announced in advance.

An OPI [Orient Press of India] message says that this radio is causing much headache to the Frontier Ministry who have employed a detection staff to locate it.

Dawn, 21-4-1947

29

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
23 April 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd, enclosing a cutting from Dawn. I have expressed my displeasure and requested that

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Dawn may immediately cease publication of information about this "Radio Pakistan" station.

I will enquire about the station when I go to Peshawar next week.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

30

New Delhi
4 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

In the issue of the Dawn dated 27 April 1947, your attention was drawn to certain questions put to the Delhi Administration in respect of an incident relating to the search of No. 4 Government quarters on Mata Sundari Lane. I enclose a copy of the cutting.

2. I asked the Home Secretary to ascertain the facts. A copy of the police report is attached for your perusal. You will notice that the allegations are without any foundation whatsoever and that as a result of the search seven lathis and one axe were actually found in the quarter occupied by a servant. The Inspector-in-charge is a Mohammedan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

31

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
6 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter about the article in the Dawn of 27 April. I saw this list of questions at the time it was published and am glad to know that the allegations are incorrect.

2. Freedom of speech should, in my opinion, be accompanied by accurate reporting, but it does not seem as if the latter obtained on this occasion.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
16 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter daed 13 May 1947 regarding police morale.

2. Your impression that interference by Ministers and their parties is all too common in a number of provinces and has affected all Government departments, has come as somewhat of a surprise to me. I have been keeping myself in touch with both officials and non-officials from various provinces, who happen to come to Delhi, but have not derived the same impression from my contacts with them. The reports which we receive have also made no reference to such intervention. On receipt of your letter, I asked the Director of Intelligence Bureau if he had received complaints similar to those coming from Bengal from other provinces as well. He said he had not received any from the IGPs or from the Central Intelligence officers, who, as you are probably aware, are stationed in all provinces. In my discussion with Premiers and Ministers, I have always impressed upon them the need for taking the Services with them and maintaining their cohesion and esprit de corps. I cannot imagine that there would be any large-scale departure from this principle in the Congress provinces. But if you have any particular instances relating to these provinces, or if you could say which provinces are intended, I shall be glad to put the respective Premiers wise about it and will secure improvement where necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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CHAPTER II

SOVEREIGN OR PARTITIONED BENGAL

33

TELEGRAM

Calcutta
27 February 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PARTITION OF BENGAL IS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG ON ALL GROUNDS POLITICAL ECONOMIC CULTURAL LINGUISTIC SOCIAL. IT IS OUTCOME OF DEFEATIST MENTALITY AND IS MISCONCEIVED REMEDY AGAINST COMMUNAL GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL.

AKHIL DUTTA

34

New Delhi
26 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will recall that during our discussion yesterday the question came up about provincial constitutions being framed by the sections in such a manner as to prevent the free and unfettered expression of opinion on the question of grouping by the provincial electorates and I told you that this was an action which was contrary to the Cabinet Mission Plan.

2. To substantiate my statement I would refer you to the following extract from the letter of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad[1] to the Viceroy dated 14 June 1946:

> "You are no doubt aware of the strong feeling of resentment which exists among large sections of the people against some of the proposals in the statement, notably the idea of

[1] Leading Muslim divine; staunch nationalist from Khilafat days; Congress President, 1939-46; member, CA; Education Minister in Nehru Cabinet

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grouping. The Frontier province and Assam have expressed themselves with considerable force against any compulsory grouping. The Sikhs have felt hurt and isolated by these proposals and are considerably agitated. Being a minority in the Punjab, they become still more helpless as far as numbers go in Section B. We appreciated all these objections especially as we ourselves shared them. Nevertheless, we hoped that according to our interpretation of the clauses related to grouping, which we still hold is the correct interpretation, for any other interpretation would endanger the basic principle of provincial autonomy, we might be able to get over some of the obvious difficulties."

To this the Viceroy replied in paragraph 3 of his letter dated 15 June as follows:

"The Delegation and I are aware of your objections to the principle of grouping. I would however point out that the statement of 16 May does not make grouping compulsory. It leaves the decision to the elected representatives of the provinces concerned sitting together in sections. The only provision which is made is that the representatives of certain provinces should meet in sections so that they can decide whether or not they wish to form groups. Even when this has been done the individual provinces are still to have the liberty to opt out of the group if they so decide."

3. From this correspondence it is clear that the statement of 16 May 1946 does not make grouping compulsory. For a constitution to be drawn up in such a way as to prevent a province from expressing its true will on opting out of grouping would in effect amount to making grouping compulsory.

4. Apart from this, I would invite your attention to the following extract of the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps[1] in the House of Commons on 18 July 1946 (Page 1404 of Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Volume 425, No. 179.):

"There were two main points which the Congress were stressing as to the statement of 16 May. The first was as to whether the provinces were compelled to come into the sections of the Constituent Assembly—Sections A, B, and C—in the first instance, or whether they could stay out if they wished.

1 MP (Lab.) for Bristol East; Lord Privy Seal and Leader of House of Commons, February 1942; known for Cripps proposals in 1942 etc. and as member, Cabinet Mission, 1946

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We made it quite clear that it was an essential feature of the scheme that the provinces should go into sections, though, if groups were subsequently formed, they could afterwards opt out of those groups. A fear was expressed that, somehow or other, the new provincial constitutions might be so manoeuvred as to make it impossible for the provinces afterwards to opt out. I do not myself see how such a thing would be possible, but if anything of that kind were to be attempted, it would be a clear breach of the basic understanding of the scheme. The essence of the constitution-making scheme is that the provincial representatives in Sections A, B and C, mentioned in paragraph 19, should have the opportunity of meeting together and deliberating upon the desirability of forming a "group" and upon the nature and extent of the subjects to be dealt with by the group. If, when the pattern of the group ultimately emerges, any province wishes to withdraw from the group, because it is not satisfied, then it is at liberty to do so after the first election under the new Constitution, when, with no doubt a wider electorate than at present, that matter can be made a straight election issue."

5. Similarly I invite your attention to the following extract of the speech of Lord Pethick-Lawrence[1] in the House of Lords on 16 December 1946 in which he has dwelt upon the danger of provincial constitutions being imposed upon a province contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants or in such a manner as to prevent the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants prevailing in the decision whether or not to opt out of the group. (Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Volume 144, No. 15 of Monday, 16 December 1946):

"One aspect of this matter is that there is anxiety in certain quarters whether the majority in a section might not impose a provincial constitution upon a province which would be contrary to the wishes of its inhabitants, and might even be of such a character as to prevent the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants prevailing in the decision whether or not to opt out of the group. I am sure that neither side have any wish that this should take place. There is no reason why the two major communities should not come to an arrangement

[1] Secretary of State for India in Labour Cabinet; headed Cabinet Mission to India for talks with Indian leaders in 1946 for the solution of constitutional problem

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between themselves which would avoid any danger of it happening."

6. The All-India Congress Committee resolution of 6 January 1947 does no more than stress the necessity of proceeding in the matter of grouping by mutual agreement and not by compulsion or coercion. This is clearly in accord with the intentions of His Majesty's Government as expressed in the above-mentioned extracts of correspondence and debates. The statement of 6 December implements this intention by making it clear that His Majesty's Government cannot force a constitution on unwilling parts. Government spokesmen in the House of Commons have stressed this on more than one occasion in the debates on India. A typical example is the following extract from Mr. [A.V.] Alexander's[1] speech:

> "We would not contemplate, and the Congress itself does not contemplate, enforcing upon an unwilling section of the community anything they do not accept. [p. 1555, Hansard Parliamentary Debates (House of Commons) Volume 431, No. 24]. The statement of 20 February 1947 also lays considerable emphasis on an agreed constitution rather than a constitution settled by majority decisions. The Congress has on its part already stated on a number of occasions that it will adhere to this principle in constitution-building. It is clearly incumbent on the League to work the sections in a similar spirit. I have no doubt that if this were done, the minorities in the section would react sympathetically and in a co-operative spirit to the reasonable wishes of the majority."

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

35

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
28 April 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

H.E. has directed me to thank you for your letter of 26 April about the Cabinet Mission's plan.

[1] MP; First Lord of Admiralty in Labour Government; member, Cabinet Mission, 1946

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H.E. feels that HMG's statement of 6 December is perfectly clear about the legal position and that the speeches by Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, which you quoted, related to the undoubted fact that without a reasonable measure of agreement you cannot frame a constitution, and that if any outrageous attempt was made to force an unacceptable constitution on a province the constitution-making machine would break down whatever the legal rights of the parties might be.

Yours sincerely,
Eric Mieville[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

36

New Delhi
1 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

In your absence, Sir Eric Mieville replied to my letter of 26 April 1947 about the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

2. It seems to me that the main argument of my letter has been missed. The statement of 6 December is merely clarificatory of a portion of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. This clarification came, however, seven months after the Cabinet Mission issued their statement. On the other hand, the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps was made only within two months of the Cabinet Mission's statement of 16 May, and I fail to see how, if the statement of 6 December is regarded as clarificatory of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, his speech in the House of Commons cannot be so regarded. The position which I have stated, therefore, does not flow from any general principle, but must be taken as consistent with the intentions of the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

[1] Private Secretary to Viceroy, Lord Willingdon; later came to India as member of Mountbatten's staff

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
16 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 1 May about the Cabinet Mission Plan, which I delayed answering until I had gone into the matter while at Simla.

2. It has always been clear that the Cabinet Mission Plan provided that the representatives of certain provinces should sit together in sections, and that those sections, operating by a simple majority vote, should have two main tasks:

(i) to frame constitutions of provinces comprising the sections; and
(ii) to decide whether or not to set up a group government under a group constitution.

3. Provinces would acquire the right to opt out of a group (if the section decided to set one up) only after the first elections held under the new constitution, which had been framed by the section. There was never any question of the constitution being referred in the first instance to existing legislative assemblies for approval.

4. There always was inherent in this plan the risk that a provincial constitution might be rigged by the majority in a section; in the case of Assam, there undoubtedly has been a fear on the part of the present Assam Ministry that a constitution devised for Assam by Section C would be such as would in effect put them out of office. The answer to this is that they must trust the majority in Section C not to abuse its powers, in the same way as that majority in Section C would have to trust the Congress majority in the Union Assembly not to abuse its power in regard to the federal subjects, etc.

5. This matter is of course most important from the point of view of both the major parties; and if only the position could be fully accepted and appreciated, there would still be a chance that the Cabinet Mission Plan could be made effective.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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P-20 Moti Jhil Colony
Dum Dum
Calcutta
8 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

The enclosed is the copy of a letter I have received by post from quarters obviously connected with the Muslim League. It will speak for itself. This is forwarded for your information as quite an interesting sample of methods which the votaries of Mr. Jinnah's 'Pakistan' are seeking to adopt in Bengal to "canvass" opinion in their favour.

Following this letter I have also received a leaflet in Bengali which warns that the loaded pistol is ready to correct us from the path of partition of Bengal and resistance against the creation of 'Pakistan'. A copy of this leaflet is also enclosed herewith for your information.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. Dutt Mazumdar[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Azad Pakistan
S. S. Headquarters
Calcutta
30 April 1947

Mr. Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar
Calcutta

S.S. Headquarters hereby request you that you immediately stop propaganda in support of 'Bengal partition'. Bengal must be an independent, sove-

[1] Congress leader of Bengal; member of Congress Ministry in West Bengal immediately after partition with Dr. P. C. Ghosh as Chief Minister

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reign and united state wherein there will be no distinction of class, creed and religion. But this independent state must be called 'Azad Pakistan' and the Muslims by virtue of their numerical strength will be the dominant power. Remember, Muslim Bengal is no more idle and busy after job-hunting. Youths of Muslim Bengal are now prepared to sacrifice their last drop of blood to attain and afterwards defend what they love to call 'Pakistan'.

S.S. Headquarters lastly warn you that if you continue to do the same the very existence of you will be at stake.

Azad Pakistan,
Sd/- Illegible
Sardar [Commander]

39

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
16 May 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 8 May 1947. The enclosures of the letter have not come to me as a surprise. Those who wish to include Hindu majority areas in Muslim provinces are bound to resort to all means, fair and foul, to secure their objective. They will create panic and intimidate people. The letters which you have enclosed are only intended to carry out this object.

I hope you will take no notice of such letters.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar, MLA
Dum Dum
Calcutta

40

Cecil Hotel
Simla
11 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

May I say how very much I appreciate your Press interview on Friday which I have just seen? You have hit the nail on the head by bringing out the absurdity of the position which the

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British authorities have taken up by their professed neutrality. In particular, the provisions of the Government of India Act laying down certain special responsibilities on the Governor-General and the Governor in their individual judgment, in the matter of prevention of any grave menace to a part of the country and safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities, have been definitely ignored in Bengal. The Governor of Bengal has been almost a disinterested spectator, while the Suhrawardy[1] Ministry has been guilty of inciting the Muslim hooligans to commit the most heinous crimes.

The latest statement of [H.S.] Suhrawardy conveys a definite threat that Calcutta will be sacked and burnt in case the partition idea is favoured. This may happen even before any formal announcement is made by the Viceroy. Suhrawardy is not likely to wait till the formal announcement is made for the purpose of carrying on fire and sword through Calcutta. The portion of Suhrawardy's statement which I have in view runs as follows:

> "A rich prize like this is not easily attained merely by brow-beating statements, and if Calcutta becomes a bone of contention, what will remain of it? In order that it should be a great city and the centre of commerce, trade and industry, it is necessary to have peace and security. Without peace and security the city will be next to nothing."

I am sure your attention has already been drawn to this menacing attitude of Suhrawardy along with the fact that threatening letters are being received by different leaders. I am sure you will ask the Viceroy as to whether he is going to allow all the forces at the command of the Government of Bengal to be employed for the purpose of destroying the city of Calcutta and wholesale murder and pillage of its citizens.

This statement of Suhrawardy's reinforces the necessity of suppression of the present Ministry before any declaration favouring partition of Bengal [is] made. From one point of view, a demand for the enforcement of Section 93 of the Government of India Act in the case of Bengal may be considered to be inconsistent with the resistance that is being offered by the Congress to the same idea as put forward by the League in the case of the North West Frontier Province. There is, however, an essential difference between the two cases. In the case of Bengal, if the British Government's attitude is to leave the decision as regards partition of the province to the free judgment of the people con-

[1] Leading Muslim politician of Bengal who was Chief Minister of the province at the time of partition; Prime Minister of Pakistan

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cerned, a partisan Government with a black record cannot be allowed to function, particularly in the face of its open threats of violence and wholesale destruction. A neutral authority must in all fairness be installed in Bengal if the expression of public opinion on the question of partition is to be free and uninfluenced by coercion and a campaign of murder and arson.

I came here on the 1st of this month in connection with the meetings of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee, and am likely to go down to Delhi for a few days towards the end of June. Being so far away from Calcutta and Delhi, I naturally feel very anxious about the developments that are taking place in the situation in Bengal. It is needless for me to say that all our eyes are turned towards you in the hope that you will not fail to take whatever action is possible to save Bengal and Calcutta from utter ruin and bloodshed.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

41

13 May 1947

My dear Neogy,

I have received your letter of the 11th instant. You must have noticed from the activities of Mr. Suhrawardy in Calcutta that he is considerably unnerved by the agitation of partition of Bengal which is sure to separate Calcutta from Eastern Bengal which is destined to be the League portion of Pakistan if it persists in its demand. I am afraid this cry of a sovereign independent Bengal is a trap in which even Kiran Shankar[2] [Roy] may fall with Sarat Babu.[3] The only way to save the Hindus of Bengal is to insist on partition of Bengal and to listen to nothing else. That is the only way to bring the Muslim League in Bengal to its senses.

1 Member, Standing Committee of Ministers of the Chamber of Princes, 1940-42; Minister, Government of India, 1947-50; Chairman, Indian Railway Enquiry Committee, 1947; Chairman, Planning Advisory Board, Government of India

2 Leader of Congress Party in Bengal Legislative Assembly

3 Sarat Chandra Bose—leading Congressman of Bengal; elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose; member, Interim Government headed by Nehru

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I am aware of the threat which Suhrawardy has given in his statement and which he may try to execute in the event of partition, but we shall take all possible precautions to prevent such a catastrophe. At present unfortunately the proposed announcement has been postponed for a fortnight and during that period the tension and war of nerves will continue but there is no help. I trust you are having the full benefit of the exuberating climate of Simla Hills.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

K. C. Neogy Esq., MLA
Cecil Hotel
Simla

42

77 Asutosh Mookerjee Road
Calcutta
11 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

We are naturally extremely anxious about the final developments. Sarat Babu is doing enormous mischief by trying to negotiate with Suhrawardy on the basis of sovereign Bengal. He has no support whatsoever from the Hindus and he dare not address one single public meeting. I hope you will not allow this idea of sovereign Bengal to be considered seriously by anybody.

I find a conference will meet in Delhi on the 17th when the final scheme will be communicated to the leaders. I hope there is no possibility of the Muslim League accepting the Cabinet Mission Scheme at the last stage. If Mr. Jinnah is compelled to do so by the force of events, please do not allow the question of partition of Bengal to be dished. Even if a loose Centre as contemplated under the Cabinet Mission Scheme is established, we shall have no safety whatsoever in Bengal. We demand the creation of two provinces out of the present boundaries of Bengal—Pakistan or no Pakistan.

I do not know whether the Viceroy will declare any provisional boundary. It should for the present include both Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. The Boundary

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Commission may meet later and settle the final boundaries which should be thana-wise.

It is of utmost importance that the new declaration should also include an announcement for the immediate dissolution of the Bengal Ministry. This must come forthwith otherwise grave consequences are bound to follow. If the ministry is allowed to function for a single day, it will play havoc with the province and particularly Calcutta. If there is delay in the formation of regional ministries, Section 93 with a representative council of advisers may be promulgated.

If you at any time feel that I should come to Delhi, please do not hesitate to let me know.

I am addressing a similar letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

43

New Delhi
17 May 1947

Dear Syama Prasad Mookerjee,

Many thanks for your letter of 11 May 1947.

2. I do not think you need have any worry at all. You can depend on us to deal with the situation effectively and befittingly. The future of Hindus in Bengal is quite safe so long as they stand firm and continue to give us such support as only they can.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
77 Asutosh Mookerjee Road
Calcutta

[1] Educationist-politician; Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, 1934-38; Finance Minister, Bengal, 1941-42; member, CA; Minister in first Nehru Cabinet; President, Hindu Mahasabha and later founder of Jan Sangh

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74A South Sinthee Road
P. O. Ghughudanga
Calcutta
16 May 1947

Respected Sardar V. J. Patel,

I beg to be excused for again troubling you with this. But the unhappy and dangerous situation that is being created by some so-called Congress leaders forces me to place before you some facts for your kind consideration.

I had occasion to write to you just after August [1946] killings of Calcutta how the Muslim League tried to impose Pakistan in Bengal and by what methods.

A situation more dangerous is now arising in Bengal and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, who has more ambition than sense, is responsible for this. Mr. Kiran Shankar Roy has also joined hands with Mr. Bose in creating a free undivided Bengal. These people have joined hands with the Muslim League. But the Hindu public of West Bengal are very strongly in favour of partition. The betrayal of these so-called Congress leaders has come as a shock to the public under the circumstances. Please try to come to Bengal and rescue Bengal from the clutches of these traitors. These leaders forget that they are helping the Britishers by their unholy game.

The British diplomacy to create a weak Union Centre by combining opposing forces in undivided India having failed, it is trying to win away more areas from the jurisdiction of the Union State of India.

If Bengal is made free today, Assam will be forced to follow suit, since Assam does not possess direct communication with the Indian Union.

Eastern Pakistan will, in course of time, grow upon the ashes of Bengal and Assam.

Please, under these circumstances, come and visit Bengal. I can assure you that your presence will bring solidarity in Hindu ranks. For heaven's sake do come to Bengal once.

Yours faithfully,
Binoy Kumar Roy

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45

Camp Birla House
Mussoorie
23 May 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 16th instant.

You are unnecessarily taking an alarmist view of the situation. Shri Kiran Shankar Roy is coming to Delhi on the 28th instant to meet me. I do not think he will do anything against the advice of the Congress High Command. Nor have we reason to apprehend any scheming or interference from British diplomacy.

Bengal cannot be isolated from the Indian Union. Talk of the idea of a sovereign republic of independent Bengal is a trap to induce the unwary and unwise to enter into the parlour of the Muslim League. The Congress Working Committee is fully aware of the situation in Bengal, and you need not be afraid at all. Bengal has got to be partitioned, if the non-Muslim population is to survive.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Binoy Kumar Roy
74-A South Sinthee Road
P.O. Ghughudanga
Calcutta

46

1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta
16 May 1947

My dear Sardar,

You may remember that when we met last I spoke to you about B. G. Rao, ICS, then Magistrate and Collector, Murshidabad, now on leave. Rao was and still is most anxious to join one of the departments in the Central Government. I have known him for some time and I can say that he is a very capable and

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intelligent officer. He is a Karnatak Brahmin. I spoke to [C.H.] Bhabha[1] about him when he came to Calcutta and the latter promised to consider his application for transfer of his services from Bengal to the Centre. Bhabha has since written to say that he is very much handicapped and does not know what he can do to take in Rao. As far as I am aware, there are several vacancies in the Works, Mines and Power and other departments. If you kindly take a little interest in Rao's case, I am sure you can fit in Rao somewhere. Here in Bengal, he had considerable experience in the Home Department. Knowing Rao's difficulties here, I have no hesitation in requesting you to consider his application favourably. Rao will be going to Delhi shortly and seek an interview with you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sarat Chandra Bose

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

47

Mussoorie
22 May 1947

My dear Sarat,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th instant regarding Mr. B. G. Rao. I shall be returning to Delhi on 28 May and will then take up, in consultation with Bhabha, the question of his joining the Central Government and will write to you later about him.

I am sorry to find that you have isolated yourself so completely from all-India politics and even in provincial politics you have not kept in touch with us. In these critical times, we cannot afford to be standoffish and must pool our resources and take a united stand. Vital matters which will leave their mark on generations to come have to be settled, and in such settlement it behoves all of us to contribute our best to the combined strength of the Congress. I do hope that you will take a broader share

[1] Commerce Member, Interim Government, September 1946; Member, Works, Mines and Power, November 1946; Commerce Minister, 15 August 1947; resigned in April 1948; Director, Central Bank of India and Oriental Assurance Company; Chairman, Eastern Shipping Corporation

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in all-India politics and will keep us in touch with your activities both in regard to all-India and in regard to provincial politics.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose
1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta

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Calcutta
27 May 1947

My dear Sardar,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd instant which was to hand yesterday afternoon. I do not know where B. G. Rao is at the moment. He was to have gone to Delhi. If he [is] there at the time you return, he will seek an interview with you.

Isolation from all-India politics has not been of my seeking. Health and other circumstances have been conspiring against me since December last. During intervals, when I had a little respite from illness, I did some political work and also devoted some of my time and energy to curbing to some extent communal frenzy. Today the position is that communal frenzy is not the monopoly of the Muslim Leaguers; it has also overtaken large sections of Hindus, both Congressites and Mahasabhaites. The Congress stand regarding partition has been taken advantage of by the sections mentioned above to inflame communal passions further. It has also brought back the Hindu Mahasabha to life and considerably strengthened its position.

I have given the public from time to time a very clear indication of my views. I consider it most unfortunate that the Congress Working Committee conceded Pakistan and supported partition. It is true that I have not been able to address public meetings yet for reasons of health; but having been in close touch with public opinion both in West and East Bengal, I can say that it is not a fact that Bengali Hindus unanimously demand partition. As far as East Bengal is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of Hindus there are opposed to partition. As regards West Bengal, the agitation

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for partition has gained ground because the Congress came to the aid of the Hindu Mahasabha and also because communal passions have been roused among the Hindus on account of the happenings since August last. The demand for partition is more or less confined to the middle classes. When the full implications of partition are realised and when people here find that all that they will get for Western Bengal province will be roughly one-third of the area of Bengal and only about half of the total Hindu population in Bengal, the agitation for partition will surely lose support. I entirely agree with you that we should take a united stand; but I shall say at the same time that the united stand should be for a united Bengal and a united India. Future generations will, I am afraid, condemn us for conceding division of India and supporting partition of Bengal and the Punjab.

I have been feeling somewhat better during the last fortnight and I do intend to take a greater part in all-India politics and, at the same time, to explain to the public of Bengal that partition would be disastrous to them.

I may come to Delhi within the next few days, but my coming or not coming will depend on the situation in Calcutta.

I trust you are keeping well. With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
S. C. Bose

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

49

Mussoorie
21 May 1947

My dear Kiran Shankar Roy,

I am sending herewith copy of a telegram which I have received from one Mr. Bose. As to which Bose it is, is not clear.

We are completely in the dark as to whether anything is transpiring, as is reported in the papers or alleged by various persons. Both your and Sarat Babu's names are implicated in these allegations, and I feel that it is in your interests to see that such rumours do not gain further currency. These are undoubtedly critical times, and the issue of partition is of paramount importance. It is incumbent on all Congressmen to set aside personal predilections and to stand united on the official policy of the

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Congress. Individual expression of views must fit into that policy, and there should not be any discordant note. As a disciplined Congressman, I am sure you will appreciate this advice.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Kiran Shankar Roy, MLA
44 European Asylum Road
Calcutta

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Calcutta
20 May 1947

Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

ASK KIRAN SHANKAR ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENT DISPELLING UGLY RUMOURS ABOUT HIS ATTITUDE TO CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON PARTITION.

BOSE

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
22 May 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

YOUR LETTER. DESIRE SEEING YOU AND [Panditji] AT DELHI ON TWENTYEIGHTH.

KIRANSHANKAR ROY

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
27 May 1947

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM. PROCEEDING DELHI IMMEDIATELY TO SEE SARDARJI YOURSELF.

KIRANSHANKAR ROY

52

Calcutta
23 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I returned to Calcutta on the 20th instant.

In the light of talks I was privileged to have with you about the Bengal situation, I issued Press statements on lines indicated in the enclosed newspaper clipping. This is for your information as well as for any guidance you might wish to give us hereafter.

Among some of the top leaders of the Congress in Bengal I find there is a feeling, rightly or wrongly, that little attention has hithertofore been paid to Bengal problems by all-India leaders of the Congress, despite the fact that the issues arising here are of no mere provincial importance. This feeling has been expressed to me and would appear to have contributed to a separatist tendency somewhat to the following effect, namely, that problems in the 'B' and 'C' groups, particularly affecting Bengal, are neglected by the all-India leadership. So, neglected Bengal might well seek to resolve her own difficulties in her own way. There is also a grouse that Bengal leaders have even been denied sufficient opportunity by the all-India leadership of discussing problems with them.

Such a feeling existing, whether with any justification or not, particularly in the minds of people who count in Bengal, should

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be removed at all cost and everything done to check their tendency towards separatism.

I thought it my duty to make you aware of the existence of such a feeling as it has been expressed to me in so many words by some top people in the Congress in our province. In the present context the existence of such a feeling may be potent for mischief.

Another point I am asked is why are leaders in the NWFP including Shri Mehrchand Khanna[1], allowed to raise the cry for a 'sovereign State' for themselves. Information as to this would be helpful for the clarification of our position in Bengal.

The views of non-League Bengal, I am glad to tell you, are definitely overwhelmingly in favour of the Indian Union and not the so-called "sovereign Bengal", despite all the efforts that are being made by some of the Bengal leaders to persuade otherwise.

I wish you the best of health. With kindest regards and pranams,

Yours sincerely,
Niharendu Dutt Majumdar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

53

Mussoorie
26 May 1947

My dear Majumdar,

I have received your letter of the 23rd instant.

I am afraid there is some misunderstanding. I do not understand your reference about separatist tendency of neglecting problems in B and C groups, particularly affecting Bengal, by the all-India leadership. What made anybody think so, I do not know. But I should like to know from you what problems have been neglected by us. We have kept a close contact with the members of the Constituent Assembly from Bengal and also with the Congress leaders except, perhaps, Sarat Babu who has isolated himself from the Centre; you know he was elected as a member of the Working Committee, but he resigned and issued a statement disapproving of the policy of the Central Committee.

[1] Member, North-West Frontier Legislative Council, 1932-37; Finance Minister, 1937; Secretary, Frontier Congress Parliamentary Party, 1943-45; migrated to India after partition and was Minister for Refugee Rehabilitation in Nehru Government

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There is also no reason why Bengal leaders should feel that they have been denied sufficient opportunity by us of discussing problems with them. Whenever any group of people or individuals have asked for discussion, we have given full opportunity to them. I am, however, glad that you have communicated this feeling to us, so that we may do our best to remove that feeling.

There is no comparison between the NWFP and Bengal. It is a purely Muslim province, where the Hindus are in a very small minority. Mehrchand Khanna was a Hindu Mahasabha leader and he joined the Congress only during the recent elections. He must, therefore, have very good reasons to raise a cry for a sovereign State there. Probably they want to counteract the League's influence which is growing; and as there is considerable agitation against them both in the tribal area and in the Pathans that the present Ministry is a Hindu-influenced Ministry, they probably consider this to be a safe device. I am sure they do not believe in isolating themselves from the Centre, and I have no doubt that they will decide in favour of it.

I have no doubt that Bengal will see, in spite of all efforts of Sarat Babu or other individuals, that its interests lie in not isolating itself from the rest of India. Let us hope there will be no treachery.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Niharendu Dutt Majumdar
Calcutta

54

39/2/C Manoharpukur Road
P.O. Rashbehari Avenue
Calcutta
28 May 1947

Dear Sir,

May I take the liberty of encroaching on your valuable time for a few minutes? The matter is very urgent and requires prompt action by the Congress High Command, otherwise the move for partition of Bengal will be sabotaged, not by the Muslim Leaguers, nor by the European merchants, but by the local Congress leaders.

Many retired officers of the locality, including my humble self, suggested, as early as May 1946, through the Amrita Bazar

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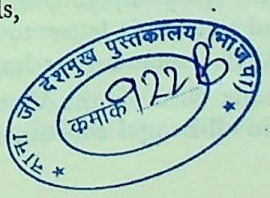
Patrika, separation of Western Bengal from Eastern Bengal, and incorporation of the former in the Union of India. We had to contend against strong public opposition until the great Calcutta killing, the Noakhali incidents, and the continuous misrule by the League Government convinced the public about the necessity of partition. The movement gathered momentum, until everyone accepted that it was almost a settled fact. I now find that some of the persons who had been ardent advocates of partition, are now advocating a "sovereign Bengal." I have reasons to believe that they have been influenced by some of the Congress leaders. It is rumoured that a huge sum of money has been placed at the disposal of those leaders for scuttling partition. Emissaries are being sent to Eastern Bengal to create disunity amongst caste and depressed class Hindus, and between Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal Hindus, through the agency of Peace and Prosperity League and the Communist Party. Up till now the saboteurs had not the courage to face any public meeting. But individual agents have been approaching old men and telling them that unless they agree to a free and independent Bengal, all the Hindus will be killed by the Muslims. To the middle aged persons those agents have been telling that the Union Government is not likely to look much to the interest of Bengal. To the young men they are telling that if Western Bengal remains within the Union, Bengal will be exploited by non-Bengalis, especially the Marwaris. It is being preached in Eastern Bengal that after partition the men of Eastern Bengal will be deprived of all advantages of educational and other institutions of Calcutta. More and more Congress leaders are reported to be drawn into the conspiracy. The general feeling of the public is very much against those leaders who either through misconception or through motives of personal gain are going to sell the nationalists of Bengal to the Muslim Leaguers. If matters are permitted to drift further, those "babus" may feel strong enough to declare a revolt against the High Command. But, if enquiries are held now, and a firm attitude [is] shown by the High Command they may recant their past actions and may pledge loyalty to the High Command. There is not much time to lose if Bengal is to be saved from the mischievous actions of their so-called leaders.

With best regards,

I am,
Yours truly,
Surendranath Sen
(Retired Dist. Judge)



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PS.

One Bengal MLA who is now in England is reported to be helping the saboteurs.

55

1 June 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 28 May 1947.

We are aware of the danger arising from the activities of some people who are now trying to sabotage the scheme of partition of Bengal. But I do not think that that game will succeed. People in Bengal have seen through the whole game, and it is not likely that except for a few selfish individuals anybody will be taken in by the propaganda that is being carried on in the pompous name of a sovereign Bengal. The League people are now glibly talking of one race, one culture and one language; till yesterday they were swearing by their being a different nation, having a different language and a different culture. Nobody will fall into this trap in Bengal. Anyway, I do not think there is any cause for apprehension.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Surendranath Sen
Retired District Judge
Calcutta-29

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59 Barrackpore Trunk Road
P. O. Cossipore
Calcutta
5 June 1947

Respected Sardarji,

You will perhaps remember the interview I had with you along with Sjt. Niharendu Dutt Majumdar a few days ago. Your encouragement and kind sympathy embolden me to encroach upon your valuable time and write this letter to you to bring to your notice certain facts which demand your immediate consideration.

1. It has not been made clear in the Viceroy's declaration what would happen to certain all-Bengal constituencies. For instance, the

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Railway Trade Union constituency (held by a Communist), the Water Transport Trade Union (held by a Muslim), the 5 Commerce seats (of which 4 seats are held by Congressmen and 1 by a Muslim), the Presidency and Rajshahi Division Landholders seats (both held by Congressmen) which are now being split up, Presidency Division and North Bengal Municipal constituencies (both held by Congressmen), which are also being split up—the fate of these constituencies does not appear to be very clear. Inclusion of some of these seats would strengthen our cause. A suggestion has also been made that in these cases an option may also be given to the member concerned, where his constituency is being split up, to choose which Constituent Assembly he would like to join.

2. The declaration yet leaves open the chance that, if at the time of voting, the Muslim League chooses, as a strategical move to ensure its domination in the administration of Bengal, to vote for remaining with the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, we would, in that eventuality, be included in the Indian Union, no doubt, but it would not be possible for us, in [those] circumstances, to build up a base for nationalism in Bengal, which cannot be secured unless we have the administration in our hands. Though the probability of the Bengal Muslim League revolting against Mr. Jinnah is very remote, still we must guard against every eventuality and make up our minds from beforehand. Weel feel that, if that happens, it would be more or less the continuation of the present state of affairs and the idea we have of securing in Bengal a base for nationalism will be completely frustrated. In our opinion, there should be a partition, which does not prevent East Bengal province to join the Hindustan Constituent Assembly if it so chooses, but at this critical hour we cannot allow the whole of Bengal to pass under the domination of the Muslim League in any shape or form. In order to secure an administration of nationalist character we feel partition to be essential and we are anxious to know what your reactions in the matter are.

3. In Bengal, we feel it has become necessary to concentrate now on two or three things in particular, namely, (1) To rouse public enthusiasm to white heat, particularly in West Bengal, so that there may be no wavering and no chance of defection in spite of the best efforts of the Muslim League and perhaps also of some of our 'leaders'. The public pressure is already tremendous, but we are determined to take no chances. (2) To prepare for the Boundary Commission, so that we may get those areas, which have at present been left out but which should, in all fairness,

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come to us. (3) From the trend of talks with some of our leaders we have reasons to anticipate that an effort may now be made to create a bitter feeling between East Bengal and West Bengal, but we are also determined to see that there is no such misrepresentation of the Congress stand, which can only benefit the Muslim League. But for us to carry out this programme, it is necessary to have a strong organisation of one mind and one urge, conscious of the difficult times ahead and fired by the idealism of securing the territory that is now lost to us temporarily. Changes in our party and organisational structure, consequential to the declaration, would perhaps now take place, and as a humble Congressman I can only urge upon you the necessity of the all-India Congress leadership closely supervising and guiding these changes so that the changes may take place smoothly and no group or similar considerations may affect the great and vital issues at stake.

The feeling in Bengal, so far as I have been able to gather, is one of universal satisfaction amongst the nationalists, but the Muslim League is depressed. Though the Nazimuddin group of newspapers has hailed the declaration as one containing Pakistan, yet Ittehad, the mouthpiece of the Suhrawardy group, has written today editorially that Mr. Jinnah has back-stabbed Eastern Pakistan by agreeing to Bengal partition. Moreover, Mr. Muazzemuddin Hossain,[1] our Education Minister, has today issued a Press statement saying that they wanted meat but they have been given stones instead. He has also asked that why is it that in spite of Mr. Jinnah's assurance that nothing but Pakistan will be accepted, this 'moth-eaten' 'truncated' Pakistan is being offered to the Muslims in Bengal. The tone is one of despair and not of fight.

We would be anxiously awaiting your guidance in our difficult days that are coming, specially during the period of flux and change that is immediately before us and your instructions on the various points that I am writing to you would be eagerly awaited.

With deepest regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Bimal Chandra Sinha[2]
Assistant Secretary,
Bengal Congress Assembly Party & Member,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

[1] Minister for Education, Land and Revenue, West Bengal, 1946-47
[2] Revenue Minister, West Bengal

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10 June 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 5 June 1947.

2. The question of all-Bengal constituencies is under consideration and they will have to be divided between East and West Bengal on a consideration of all relevant factors. We shall know the actual division in a few days.

3. I do not think there is any chance of the Muslim League making any attempts for the united Bengal to come into the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. If such attempts have been made or are made, we should know how to deal with them.

4. I quite realise the needs of Bengal at the present moment. What you need above everything else is united and determined leadership and I only hope that public opinion will force the leaders of Bengal to realise the urgent call of the situation and to take up a united stand against nefarious designs. No outside intervention can take the place of action which is required of Bengalis themselves, and I am sure if there were a general awakening in this sense, the leaders dare not defy the popular voice. Even at this late hour I hope popular opinion will make itself felt.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Bimal Chandra Sinha
Calcutta

58

8 Royal Exchange Place
Calcutta
5 June 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Your kind letter of 1 June is to hand. I am so glad to see from the Viceroy's announcement that things have turned out according to your desire. It is no doubt a very good thing for the Hindus and we will now be free from the communal canker.

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The partitioned area, of course, would be a Muslim State. Is it not time that we should consider Hindustan as a Hindu State with Hinduism as the State religion? We have also to strengthen the country so that it may be able to face any future aggression.

I am very happy that the Bengal partition question has also been settled by you. The question of ministry would loom large in the near future. Kiran [Shankar Roy]comes from East Bengal and because of his recent attitude people are not very happy with him. But a leader of the Western Bengal Group Assembly Party has to be elected and you have to select a good man for that post. Of the many candidates none is strong enough except Syama Prasad [Mookerjee] Babu. Sarat has lost his position while Surendra Mohan Ghosh[1] may not be able to command a majority of the following. I hope therefore the Working Committee would give proper advice for the election of the leader of the Assembly Party.

I hope you are keeping well.

With pranams to yourself and kindest regards to Maniben,

Yours sincerely,
B. M. Birla[2]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

59

10 June 1947

Dear Brij Mohan,

Thank you for your letter of 5 June 1947.

I also feel happy that the announcement of 3 June at least settles things one way or the other. There is no further uncertainty.

I quite agree that Bengal leadership is very problematic, but that is a question largely for Bengalis to solve.

I do not think it will be possible to consider Hindustan as a Hindu State with Hinduism as the State religion. We must not forget that there are other minorities whose protection is our

[1] Veteran Congress leader of Bengal

[2] Industrialist; one of the founders and president of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta; Director, Central Board of Reserve Bank of India; founder-president, Indian Sugar Mills Association

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primary responsibility. The State must exist for all, irrespective of caste or creed.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. M. Birla
Calcutta

6

Cecil Hotel
Simla, S.W.
11 June 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Permit me to draw your attention to the enclosed statement which indicates the probable line of voting on the issue of the partition of Bengal. It will be seen that the margin is about ten or eleven, and if there [is] a defection of six from our side, the scale would be turned in favour of the League.

Disquieting rumours about fabulous sums that are going to be spent by the Leaguers for the purchase of Hindu votes have reached Simla, and I feel perturbed on that account. It is a pity that I have to be away from Calcutta at this time, being detained on account of the sittings of the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee at Simla. I hope, however, to reach Calcutta on the morning of the 22nd; but perhaps our fate will have been decided by then. The attitude of Sarat Bose and Kiran Shankar has been extremely deplorable, and if things go wrong, they will be mainly held responsible.

I feel sure you are closely following the situation. I wonder if it will be possible for you to pay a short visit to Calcutta at this juncture; it would certainly put heart into those who are working indefatigably in the cause of partition. Likewise, a visit paid by Rajen Babu[1] and Sjt. Jagjivan Ram[2] would be very helpful for the

1 Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Congress leader from Bihar; close associate of Gandhi; lawyer of Patna High Court when he joined Gandhi's satyagraha against British indigo planters in Champaran district, Bihar, 1917; twice President of Indian National Congress; Minister for Food and Agriculture, Interim Government and in first Nehru Government after independence; Chairman, Constituent Assembly; first President of Indian Republic, 1950-62

2 Parliamentary Secretary, Bihar Government, 1937-39; member, Legislative Assembly and Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; Labour Minister, Interim Government of India, September 1946; Labour Minister, Government of India, August 1946-52; at present Minister of Defence

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purpose of counteracting Sarat Babu's sinister influence and the attempts that are reported to be made by Jogendra [Nath] Mandal[1] at bribing particularly the Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly.

The Governor himself is in favour of Pakistan and is for all practical purposes Suhrawardy's lap dog. The Governor and the Ministry are likely to do all that is possible to influence a decision in favour of Pakistan. Hence, to my mind, is the necessity for the presence of a few members of the Central Government, particularly yourself, in Calcutta at this time.

Trust this finds you in the best of health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

61

New Delhi
13 June 1947

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter of 11 June 1947. I also received your earlier letter in which you wrote to me about your own future having regard to the contemplated substitution of the Central Legislature by the Constituent Assembly.

2. You need not be anxious about yourself. I am bearing the matter in my mind and will do what I can.

3. As regards voting on the question of partition, we are taking necessary precautions. I feel confident that it will be all right.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

K. C. Neogy Esq., MLA
Cecil Hotel
Simla

[1] Scheduled caste leader; Minister in Bengal, 1943-46; Law Member, Interim Government of India, 1946-47

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
12 June 1947

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

INDIAN ASSOCIATION URGES POPULATION RATIO OF MUSLIM AND NONMUSLIM COMMUNITIES AS CHIEF BASIS OF PARTITION TO BE ADOPTED IN TERMS OF REFERENCE TO BOUNDARY COMMISSION. WEST BENGAL PROVINCE AREA SHOULD BE FORTYSIX PERCENT OF TOTAL.

BANERJEA PRESIDENT

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CHAPTER III

ALL INDIA RADIO LANGUAGE POLICY

63

New Delhi
5 January 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

The recommendations of the AIR Urdu-Hindi Advisory Committee have been under the consideration of the Department of Information and Broadcasting for some time past. I understand that the proposals under consideration relate to the fixing of certain proportions for Urdu, Hindi and other languages for purposes of broadcast from the various AIR stations. The relative importance which should be given to different languages in the AIR broadcasts has long been a subject of communal and political controversy and involves a major communal and political issue. My colleagues of the Muslim League Party and I therefore think that the proposals now under consideration should be considered in the Cabinet before any decision is taken on such a question of major policy.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar V. J. Patel
Member for Information & Broadcasting
New Delhi

64

New Delhi
8 January 1947

Dear Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan,

Thank you for your letter dated 5 January 1947 regarding the recommendations of the AIR Hindi-Urdu Standing Advisory Committee.

2. There seems to be some misapprehension about the scope of those recommendations. It would perhaps be best if I gave

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you a brief history of this subject. The Hindustani policy of All India Radio has throughout been dealt with departmentally. Previously the Director-General was given ample discretion, but in view of some public criticism, Sir Sultan Ahmed, the then Member, intervened and after consulting representatives of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu and the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Hon. Syed Husain Imam, Member of the Council of State, announced in a Press communique in February 1945 that there should not be separate Urdu and Hindi broadcasts of news, news commentaries and announcements, but the language used should be of the simplest variety which is understood by the vast majority of the listeners in Hindustani-speaking areas, and laid down certain points for the guidance of the All India Radio stations in implementing this policy.

3. Some criticisms still persisted, and last year Sir Akbar Hydari appointed a committee consisting of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Shri Narain Mahtha, Member, Council of State, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, MLA, Dr. Zakir Husain and Dr. Tarachand to advise the Government of India on the following questions:

(i) Should the Hindustani news of AIR continue to be broadcast in a common language or should it be broadcast separately in Hindi and Urdu?

(ii) If in a common language, what steps should be taken for the selection of the vocabulary which should be satisfactory and generally acceptable?

(iii) What programme composition would achieve a fair representation of Hindi and Urdu in spoken-word items other than news?

4. The committee, after a full discussion, unanimously came to the conclusion that the use of Hindustani as the common language for news bulletins, though not free from difficulties, should not be given up without a further attempt at arriving at a generally acceptable vocabulary. For this purpose the committee recommended that [a] Standing Advisory Committee should be set up to advise the Director-General of All India Radio on the choice of vocabulary for Hindustani, and that the All India Radio Lexicon (which was a very valuable and constructive compilation) should be circulated to suitable experts in the country for comments which, when received, should also be considered by the Standing Advisory Committee suggested above. The committee also unanimously held that spoken-word programmes other than news items in Hindi and Urdu should continue to be broadcast as it

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was most desirable to help and not to hinder the literary development of the two languages, and that the question of fair and adequate representation as between the two should be referred to the Standing Advisory Committee mentioned above.

5. As a result of the unanimous recommendations of the above-mentioned committee, therefore, the Standing Advisory Committee had to advise the DG, AIR on the choice of a vocabulary for Hindustani and on the adequate representation of Hindi and Urdu in spoken-word items other than news. This Standing Advisory Committee was then constituted and, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, consisted of the representatives of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. This Standing Advisory Committee came to certain unanimous conclusions as regards the principles which should guide the choice of vocabulary for Hindustani, though no substantial measure of agreement was reached on the choice of Hindustani equivalents in the light of those principles. They have also made certain unanimous recommendations on other details of programme items intended to safeguard the position both of Hindi and Urdu. They could not, however, agree on the allocation of the spoken-word programmes between Hindi and Urdu at the various stations.

6. These recommendations thus deal with matters of details of administration of All India Radio and came up for orders before me; the orders were sent to the department on 19 December and are to be announced to the Press in a day or two.

From the indication given of the terms of reference and the nature of the recommendations made, you will, I hope, agree that no question of policy is in issue, and the matters covered by the recommendations are such as should be left, in accordance with the generally accepted governmental procedure, to the department concerned. I do not think that this is a matter which requires discussion in the Cabinet. However, the decisions would appear in the departmental summary which is always discussed in the committee of the Cabinet, and I suggest that if you and your colleagues have any points to raise, they could be raised appropriately at that stage.

7. I, therefore, regret I am unable to accept the view that the matter involves one of major policy, or that it is a major communal and political issue. Indeed, the question is one of implementing in details the policy unanimously recommended by a committee consisting of representatives of both the communities. Division of

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opinion on details is natural and is to be expected, but that in itself would not bring the matter within the terms you have used.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Member of Cabinet for Finance
Interim Government of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
8 January 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter dated 8 January 1947 regarding the recommendations of the AIR Urdu-Hindi Standing Advisory Committee. I am much obliged to you for furnishing me the departmental background of the language policy followed by All India Radio. You will doubtless appreciate, however, that that policy was laid down by the Government then in power, who did not have a sufficient appreciation of the feelings of the various communities on a question of this nature. The Urdu-Hindi controversy has been in existence for a considerable time and the Muslims all over India consider the matter to be one of vital importance as affecting their entire life and culture. The fact that in the past the matter has remained a deparmental concern does not in any way minimise the desirability of its now being dealt with by the Cabinet. I must, therefore, once again emphasise that my colleagues of the Muslim League party and I regard the matter as one of major political and communal importance and consider that it should, therefore, be discussed in the Cabinet to enable a decision acceptable to the major political sections in this country being arrived at. The matter has been under consideration for a long time, and the delay of a few more days could hardly be regarded as serious.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar V. J. Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
9 January 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with your D.O. dated 8 January 1947 regarding the recommendations of the AIR Urdu-Hindi Standing Advisory Committee.

2. The language policy of All India Radio is of course a distinct question from the Hindi-Urdu controversy to which you refer. But apart from this, the proposals on which orders have issued do not raise any question of policy, and it is on this account that I hold the view that a discussion in the Cabinet at this stage is not necessary. Had any matter of policy been involved, I would certainly have been willing to consider whether the subject was not suitable for discussion in the Cabinet.

3. I appreciate the interest which you and your colleagues take in the Urdu-Hindi question, but the question of re-opening the language policy hitherto pursued by All India Radio does not arise in connection with the recommendations of the committee. If you wish to raise it now, I am prepared to have the matter re-examined, but that would of course be a separate issue altogether.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
New Delhi

67

New Delhi
10 January 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with your D.O. dated 9 January 1947.

2. The language policy of All India Radio has several aspects. My D. O. letter dated 4 January 1947 with which our present correspondence began, concerned only one aspect of the issues

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involved, namely, the respective proportions of Urdu and Hindi in spoken-word items from the AIR stations.

3. It appears from your D.O. letter of 8-1-47 that this question was referred to the Standing Advisory Committee, but that the members of the committee could not agree on the respective importance and proportion to be given to Urdu and Hindi at the various AIR stations and that a decision on this question is, therefore, being taken by the Information and Broadcasting Department.

4. If the proportions allotted in the total spoken-word programmes to the two languages are unfair to either, it will undoubtedly create a serious communal grievance and will be regarded by the section of the population concerned as detrimental to its language and culture. The fixation of these proportions is, therefore, a question of considerable political and communal importance. In view of the fact that even the Standing Advisory Committee could not agree on this question, it is all the more important that any decision taken on the question should have the agreement of the representatives of the two major parties in the Government. I have hopes that if the question is discussed in the Cabinet, it will be possible to evolve a formula satisfactory to both parties and to both the communities concerned. It is for these reasons that I wish to request you once again to arrange a discussion on this issue in the Cabinet before issuing any decision to the Press.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar V. J. Patel
New Delhi

68

New Delhi
11 January 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

Thank you for your D.O. of 10 January 1947.

2. Our previous correspondence on this subject makes it quite clear that I regard the question of allocation of spoken-word items between Hindi and Urdu as one essentially of details, which according to well-accepted rules and procedure of business should be left for departmental decision. The opportunity for discussion

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of such matters in the Cabinet arises when departmental summaries are put up in committee, and I still feel that it would be an appropriate way of discussing this question in the Cabinet.

3. It has never been my intention, however, to avoid a discussion, and I am open to arguments. I have, therefore, no objection to postpone the issue of the Press Note for a couple of days until you and I have had a discussion; if you agree, I suggest we do so tomorrow afternoon at tea here.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan

69

New Delhi
11 January 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of today's date regarding the Urdu-Hindi question.

I regret I must adhere to my previous opinion that the question involved is one of major political and communal importance and should, as such, be fully discussed in the Cabinet so that a decision could be taken with the agreement of the two major political parties in the Government. I, however, appreciate the proposal in paragraph 3 of your letter that further action in the matter be postponed pending further discussion between us. I am afraid it will not be possible for me to take advantage of your invitation tomorrow as I am fully booked for the whole day. I am also heavily pressed for the next day or two but shall try my best to find time for discussion and shall let you know. In the meantime I suggest it would be useful if you could let me have a copy of the draft Press Note mentioned in your letter, so that I could study it before we discuss.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
12 January 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

Please refer to your D.O. dated 11 January 1947.

As desired by you, I am sending herewith a copy of the draft Press Note.

I am sorry it has not been possible for you to come today; perhaps you will let me know the time convenient to you tomorrow or the day after.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
New Delhi
Copy to: Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

71

New Delhi
13 January 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 12 January and the draft Press Note enclosed with it. Although in my letter of the 11th I had expressed the hope that I may be able to find time to discuss this matter with you myself, I now regret to find that it will not be possible for me to do so in the near future in view of the very heavy programme that I have got on my hands. I am, therefore, requesting Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan to discuss the matter with you. I hope it will be possible to reach an agreed solution on this highly controversial problem.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar V. J. Patel

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New Delhi
14 January 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Please refer to the correspondence which the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, on behalf of the Muslim League Members of the Interim Government, has been carrying on with you on the subject of languages to be adopted by All India Radio. Since Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is extremely busy just now and you regarded further action about the subject matter of the correspondence as a matter of urgency, he passed on the correspondence to me with the suggestion that I should arrange to discuss the question with you. I should be glad to do so on any afternoon that may be convenient to you, excepting today and tomorrow.

A perusal of the draft decisions contained in the proposed Press Note shows that they will cause more serious grievance and misgivings in the minds of Muslims than we had originally feared. Anyway, we shall discuss it when we meet. I shall be grateful if you kindly indicate the time which may be most convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
Ghazanfar [Ali Khan]

The Hon'ble Sardar V. J. Patel
Member for Information and Broadcasting
New Delhi

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COPY OF LETTER DATED 21 JANUARY 1947 FROM MR. GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN TO SARDAR PATEL

With reference to our discussion of 18 January, I summarise below my views and comments on your proposed Press Note.

2. The question of creating by means of a new codification of vocabulary a "common" language under the name of Hindustani for use in AIR broadcasts, has a background which needs clearly to be understood. The proposed common language which is to be known as Hindustani is defined as "the language generally spoken

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and understood in Northern India." Muslims of all shades of political opinion and, I am sure, a large number of non-Muslim linguists firmly hold the view that Urdu in its simpler form already and completely fulfils—and no other language does—this definition. Their conception of a common language is, therefore, simple Urdu and they can accept no differentiation between the two. In this connection it is to be noted that Urdu has long held an officially recognised position as the common and principal language used by Muslims and non-Muslims alike for their cultural activities throughout Northern India.

3. It has, however, been the attempt of a certain section of people for some time past to dislodge Urdu from this position and replace it by Hindi. This attempt, which has led to bitter communal and political controversies, has assumed several forms, one of them being a plea for creating in place of Urdu a so-called common language consisting of a deliberately selected vocabulary, into which Hindi words may be artificially introduced to the exclusion of—or as a balance against—current Urdu words. But for this attempt to push Hindi (not only under its own name but also under the pseudonym of Hindustani) into the place now occupied by Urdu, there would be no problem of devising a new common language.

4. One committee after another has been set up in All India Radio and outside to settle the actual contents and vocabulary of what should be regarded as a "common" language of Northern India. These committees failed to come to any kind of agreement because of the fundamental conflict between the view, firmly held on the one side, that simple Urdu already constituted a common language and should be used as such; and the attempt, on the other side, to create an artificial vocabulary for a new language under the name of Hindustani and force it into the position of a common language.

5. You now propose to announce certain decisions which commit AIR to a definite policy of

(a) rejecting the claims of simple Urdu to be the common language of Northern India;

(b) codifying a new vocabulary for a common language under the name of Hindustani on the assumption that it is to be a new language, distinct and separate from Urdu;

(c) supplanting even the present artificially adulterated Urdu of the AIR news bulletins in favour of this new language; and

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(d) encouraging and developing this new and would-be distinct and separate language as such by allotting it definite shares in the rest of spoken-word programmes.

6. This policy, which amounts to a clear decree against Urdu and indirectly in favour of the anti-Urdu and pro-Hindi agitation, is bound to cause deep resentment among Muslims and will meet with strong opposition. It will be regarded as, in effect, an attempt to exclude Urdu from State recognition (as far as AIR is concerned) as the principal cultural language of Northern India and artificially smuggle Hindi not only as such, but also under the pseudonym of Hindustani into that position—or, in other words, an attempt to suppress those parts of Indian culture which are not exclusively Hindu but in the making of which Muslims too have had a hand. The question involves issues of fundamental importance for Muslims. You will, therefore, appreciate why the Muslim League Members of the Cabinet are anxious that no steps should be taken in such a matter without the consent of the Muslims in the Interim Government.

7. I may make it clear that Muslims are not opposed to the encouragement and development of Hindi or any other language in its proper sphere through State recognition; but what they are strongly opposed to is any attempt to create a new language by artificial methods and to dislodge Urdu in its favour from its present position as the common and principal language of Northern India. If there are any sections of people who like to hear news broadcasts in Hindi, Muslims will have no objection to separate arrangements being made for such broadcasts. If they are, however, to be in a common language, they must be in simple Urdu and any advisory machinery which may be set up to advise about the choice of words must function on that basis.

8. As for the proportions which you propose to assign to Urdu in spoken-word programmes other than news, they are grossly unfair to Urdu. During the course of our discussion, you said that the use of Punjabi and Pushto at the Lahore and Peshawar stations respectively would be more or less confined to instructional items for rural audiences, and that so far as Peshawar and Lahore are concerned Urdu would respectively occupy 90 per cent and 70 per cent of the total spoken-word items and that these percentages did not apply to Pushto and Punjabi, as appeared to me at first sight from the draft. Taking, however, Northern India as a whole, where it is undoubtedly the predominant language, Urdu should have been given a predominant position

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in programmes emanating from each of the four stations, viz., Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow and Peshawar. As I have stated above, Muslims are not opposed to the encouragement and development of local languages or dialects, e.g. Punjabi, Pushto, Purbi or the Hariana dialect. These, however, should all get a due position in accordance with their importance in the cultural life of the people and as local languages. They must not be boosted up so as to produce a total net result of making Hindi a principal cultural language of Northern India and dislodging Urdu altogether from its pre-eminent position.

9. In view of the position I have stated, I would suggest that instead of starting a controversy by fixing the shares of Urdu and Hindi and the local languages at each station, it will be better if the Delhi station were set apart mainly for Urdu with the proviso that this station should be further strengthened to make it capable of being satisfactorily received throughout India. About the so-called Hindustani or "common" language, the position should be accepted and made clear that it will be nothing else but simple Urdu.

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New Delhi
26 January 1947

My dear Ghazanfar Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of 21 January 1947 regarding the recommendations of the AIR Standing Advisory Committee. I am sorry there has been some delay in replying due to the pressure of work in connection with the Constituent Assembly.

2. As you are probably aware, the Hindustani policy of AIR is not a matter of recent origin; on the other hand, it has been in force for the last so many years, and in its formation and shaping, Mr. Bokhari, the late Director-General, has taken a notable part and made a valuable contribution. That there is such a language as Hindustani which is generally spoken and understood in Northern India is the unanimous view of two committees, on both of which the Muslim community and protagonists of Urdu were represented. You will recall that on the first committee which consisted of five members, three were Muslims and two Hindus. You can scarcely maintain that the former were not qualified to speak on the subject. On the second committee, Maulana Hashmi represented the Anjuman-e-Taraqqui-e-Urdu,

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the recognised custodian of the interests of the Urdu language. In the face of this history and this representative and expert opinion, I regret it is impossible for me to accept the view that the giving of its due place to Hindustani in the AIR broadcasts would in any way prejudice the interests of Urdu or, for that matter, Hindi. It is also imperative, from the points of view of listeners and of general utility, that broadcasts from All India Radio should include a sufficient portion of items in this common language.

3. From the contents of the draft Press Note, you will observe that a distinction has been drawn between Hindustani and literary Urdu or Hindi. The implication clearly is that items of interest and appeal to the common people should be in Hindustani, whereas literary tastes should be catered for by programmes in literary Urdu or Hindi. You will doubtless appreciate our anxiety to safeguard the interests of listeners and the general public, whereas controversialists outside can well afford to neglect this important aspect in the formulation of AIR policy. I feel that it is only in this and purely linguistic approach that we can hope to find an administrative solution to this problem and I am glad that in the formulation of general principles for the extraction of Hindustani equivalents of English words the committees have kept in view the predominant criterion of general intelligibility. Since the Standing Advisory Committee which would be constituted to advise the Director-General, All India Radio, on the vocabulary of Hindustani, news broadcasts and spoken-word items would be limited in its functions by these general principles, which have been unanimously agreed to by the committee, it is unfair to suggest that "any attempt would be made artificially to smuggle Hindi"; the criterion will not be whether a particular equivalent belongs to Hindi or Urdu, but whether it can be commonly understood.

4. As regards proportions, our discussions were mostly concerned with the position of Punjabi and it was recognised that Pushto was on a different footing. What I stated was that, while Punjabi could be used from the Lahore station, in regard to items of mass interest Pushto in the Frontier occupied a more important position and therefore would have to be more extensively used. You will recall that one important point of difference which both you and I recognised was that, while Punjabi was not being taught in primary schools, in the Frontier, the medium of instruction in the primary schools was Pushto. In the Frontier, therefore, the

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use of Pushto cannot be restricted to items of general interest only and that language must claim a larger proportion of spoken-word items than Punjabi from Lahore. You had the impression that under my proposal Pushto claimed 90 per cent. of the programmes from Peshawar and Punjabi 70 per cent. from Lahore. I told you that this was not correct and that, while no percentage had been fixed for Pushto or Punjabi, the 90 and 70 per cent. from the respective stations were for Urdu out of the balance of the programme items after allowing for Pushto and Punjabi.

5. Therefore, the general effect of my proposals would still be that Urdu would secure a predominant position from Lahore and will have almost the monopoly of non-Pushto programme from Peshawar. On the other hand, Hindi will secure a dominating position only from Lucknow, while from Delhi both Urdu and Hindi will secure parity. This hardly bears out your insinuation that the proposals "produce a total net result of making Hindi a principal cultural language of Northern India and dislodging Urdu altogether from its pre-eminent position."

6. I am afraid, having regard to the points already mentioned in the draft Press Note and in view of the position explained above, I am unable to agree to your proposal that the Delhi station should be set apart mainly for Urdu.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan
New Delhi

75

26 January 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Some friends told me about two weeks ago, before my departure for Calcutta, that a new scale was proposed for the ratio of Urdu and Hindi in All India Radio. Pandit Jawaharlal dropped in to see me that very day. I suggested that it would be inadvisable to alter the existing position for the present and better to keep the proposal pending. I went to Calcutta and do not know what happened. I now understand that Mr. Liaquat [Ali Khan] wrote to you on the subject and you are in correspondence also with the Viceroy on this point.

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I would request you to drop the matter and it should be postponed for some more suitable occasion. You perhaps know that the committee set up by All India Radio to tackle this question was sponsored by me. I regret that it could not come to any agreed decision. I have given the matter careful thought and come to the conclusion that we can settle the question on some future date in a way to which there would be no opposition from any quarter whatsoever. I would strongly suggest that the question may be kept pending.

I will discuss the matter fully with you when we meet.

I hope you are progressing in health.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

76

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
10 January 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Liaquat Ali has approached me about a Press Note which he says you are shortly issuing on the use of Hindi and Urdu languages for All India Radio.

2. I am anxious that this matter should not develop into a party dispute if it can be avoided, and I should therefore be glad if you would agree to hold over the issue of this Press Note until after we have been able to meet. You will be coming to see me, if you are sufficiently recovered, on Wednesday the 15th; and we could perhaps discuss it then. I am so sorry that you have been indisposed for so long, and hope that you will soon be entirely recovered.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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77

New Delhi
11 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Thank you for your letter dated 10 January 1947.

2. I have had some correspondence with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on this subject, a copy of which I enclose for your perusal. You will observe that the question which he now proposes to discuss is merely one of the proportion of Hindi and Urdu in the spoken-word items from the various stations of All India Radio. I have throughout felt, and still maintain, that that subject is a matter of detail suitable, under the usual procedure, for departmental decision, and that if any Hon. Member has any views, they could appropriately be discussed when the subject comes up in the monthly Summary for the Cabinet. Had I considered that it was a matter of major policy, I would not have hesitated to make a reference to the Cabinet. However, in deference to Your Excellency's wishes, I have no objection to holding over the issue of the Press Note, and am instructing Bozman accordingly. I would be glad to discuss it with you on the 15th when we meet.

3. I thank you for your good wishes for an early recovery. I am glad to say that I am feeling much better now and hope that, if the progress is maintained at this rate, I should be normal in a week or so.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

78

New Delhi
14 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

In continuation of my letter of 11 January 1947 regarding the recommendations of the All India Radio Hindi-Urdu Advisory Committee, I am sending herewith copy of a letter which I have

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received from Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan yesterday, for your information [See No. 71].

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

79

New Delhi
15 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

In continuation [of] our discussion this morning regarding the recommendations of the All India Radio Hindi-Urdu Standing Advisory Committee, I am sending you herewith a copy of the draft Press Note together with a statement which will not form part of the Press Note but which I have had compiled for your perusal and which gives a comparison of the proportions fixed according to my decision with those which were suggested by the members of the Committee.

2. I have given very careful thought to your suggestion that we might consult Provincial Governments. I feel that this would complicate, instead of easing, the problem, and there is every likelihood that Provincial Governments will import extraneous considerations into the consideration of this question. There is also the danger that in the confusion of political and other angles from which each Provincial Government will view the subject, the all-India aspect would be completely lost. You will notice that the problem is really one of making adjustments between the different suggestions made by the members; and this is a function which it is usual for the department concerned to discharge, and in this particular instance I see every advantage in adhering to this practice. Our aim should be to come to a fair decision which will not be arbitrary, but can be justified on reasonable principles, and this I think we have succeeded in doing in this case. I, therefore, feel that no useful purpose [will be served] but probably some harm will be done if we make a reference to Provincial Governments.

3. As I mentioned to you this morning, I shall be discussing this matter with Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, but his letter (a copy of which I enclose for your perusal) shows that he has already prejudged the issue, which is in contrast to the open mind with

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which, as I wrote to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, I would be approaching the discussion on this subject.

4. Finally, I would emphasise that there has been a considerable delay in the disposal of this case and in view of the numerous interpolations on this matter in the last session of the Legislative Assembly, it has to be disposed of before the next session begins.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
20 January 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 15 January and the draft Press Note on the languages to be used by All India Radio. I am sorry not to have answered earlier but I have been away for a few days.

2. I have read the notes and studied the proportions which you have laid down for the various stations. It seems to me that this is essentially a matter on which the provinces, who are, so to speak, the consumers of All India Radio broadcasts, should be consulted. On a matter of this kind, there are in fact extraneous considerations, and other angles, and the problem is not simply one of making adjustments between the different suggestions made by the members of the committee. I fear that if the provinces are not consulted, the reactions may be such as to retard the progress which is being made towards the evolution of a common Hindustani. Moreover, the publication of this Press Note at this particular moment is likely, as you will be aware, to have unfortunate political consequences.

3. I should be interested to hear the result of your discussions with Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
26 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Many thanks for your letter dated 20 January 1947 regarding the recommendations of the All India Radio Hindi-Urdu Standing Committee.

2. I still adhere to my view that consultation with Provincial Governments will complicate, rather than ease, the problem and that it is necessary that the whole problem should be settled not on the basis of political or communal considerations but purely from the point of view of listeners and on a linguistic basis. Apart from this, it has not been the practice of the department to consult the Provincial Governments on such matters of day-to-day administration and in the past broadcasting matters have been generally settled by the department itself in direct consultation, where necessary, with competent non-official opinion. Nevertheless, in deference to your keen desire on this matter, I have agreed to consult the Provincial Governments concerned. I am, therefore, having an express letter sent to the NWFP, the Punjab, UP, Bengal and Bombay (in whose jurisdiction the AIR stations concerned are situated) and CP and Bihar which can be covered by broadcasts from Lucknow, asking for their views by 15 February 1947.

3. I had a discussion with Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan on this question on 18 January. We had an exchange of views on the general aspects of the problem and then Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan suggested that, instead of fixing proportions for various stations, two stations might be allotted to Hindi and two to Urdu, or that there should be a separate transmission of Hindi and Urdu programmes from each station so that listeners can tune in to whatever transmission they would care for. I told Mr. Ghazanfar Ali quite plainly that none of these suggestions was practicable, but that I would be prepared to examine the matter further if he would set out his ideas in some detail in a note. He was good enough to send me a letter on the subject a copy of which together with a copy of my reply I enclose for your perusal.

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To my mind Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan's letter clearly demonstrates the confusion of thought and travesty of facts which would result if we allowed extraneous considerations to govern our decision on these points and shows that there is hardly any possibility of adjustment between the position reached as a result of the recommendations of the two committees and of the departmental consideration of these recommendations and the viewpoint held by him and presumably his colleagues of the Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
27 January 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday about the AIR language business.

I am glad you are consulting the provinces.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

83

New Delhi
22 February 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

You will recall that last month we had some correspondence regarding the recommendations of the Standing Committee appointed by the Information and Broadcasting Department to advise the Director-General, All India Radio, on certain questions arising out of the Hindustani language policy of All India Radio. As I wrote to you, I have consulted the Provincial Governments on the proposals regarding the proportions of spoken-word items other than news between Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani.

2. The NWFP Government agreed to the proposals for a definite Pushto bias in the programmes from Peshawar but so

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as not to exceed 50 per cent including rural programme and for the balance to be distributed between Urdu and Hindustani in the proportions of 9:1.

3. As regards Lahore, our proposal was that Punjabi should be used for items of mass interest and out of the balance of the programme, 70 per cent should go to Urdu, 20 per cent to Hindi and 10 per cent to Hindustani. The Government of the Punjab have suggested, however, that in the programmes from Lahore the proportion of Punjabi should not, like that of Pushto from Peshawar, exceed 50 per cent but that as regards the balance 75 per cent should be given to Urdu and 25 per cent to Hindustani. They have excluded Hindi on the ground that the south east Punjab, where programmes in Hindi may be appreciated, will be served by the Delhi station. I am opposed to setting apart such a high percentage as 50 for Punjabi, as I am advised that there would be difficulty on the ground of availability of talent and it is possible that the items of mass interest and appeal will not come up to that percentage. I would, therefore, reduce the maximum from 50 to 25. I would also accept the proportion of Urdu suggested by the Punjab Government, namely, 75, but as regards the balance of 25, I would allot 15 per cent to Hindi and 10 per cent to Hindustani. In doing so I have in mind the Hindi-speaking population in the area which would be covered by the Lahore station, including the Punjab hills the language of which has decidedly more affinity to Hindi.

4. As regards the Lucknow station, the UP Government have agreed to our proposal that the proportion of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani should be 70, 20 and 10 per cent respectively. The CP Government have suggested, however, that the proportion should be 75 per cent Hindi, 15 per cent Urdu and 10 per cent Hindustani, on the ground that there is no particular reason for giving weightage to Urdu. I have given weightage to Urdu owing to its importance in relation to Lucknow and therefore I do not propose to accept the modification suggested by the CP Government.

5. As regards Calcutta and Dacca, we suggested equal distribution of the balance available between Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. The Government of Bengal, however, have asked for weightage for Urdu because of certain historical associations of Calcutta with that language. This, I feel, would not be an adequate justification for giving weightage. Apart from this, according to circulation figures of journals, cited by the Bengal Government, the number

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MOUNTBATTEN MEETS INDIAN LEADERS AT THE VICEROY'S HOUSE ON 2 JUNE 1947. ROUND THE TABLE FROM LEFT TO RIGHT ARE: BALDEV SINGH, KRIPALANI, PATEL, NEHRU, MOUNTBATTEN, JINNAH, LIAQUAT ALI KHAN AND NISHTAR. BEHIND MOUNTBATTEN ARE LORD ISMAY AND SIR ERIC MIEVILLE

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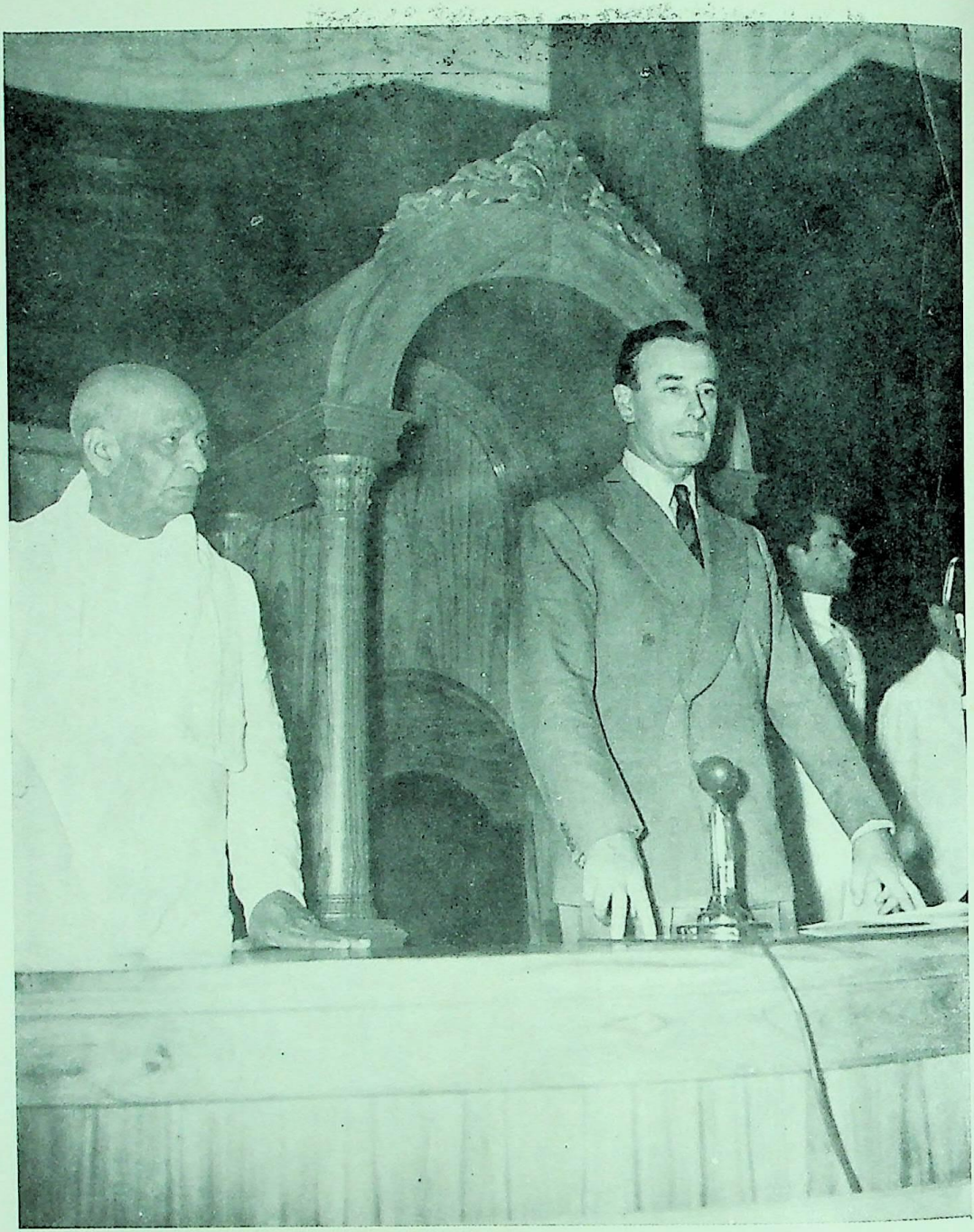

PATEL AS MINISTER OF INFORMATION PRESIDED OVER A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY MOUNTBATTEN IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HALL TO EXPLAIN THE BACK-GROUND OF THE PARTITION PLAN OF 3 JUNE 1947, TO INDIAN AND FOREIGN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS. THEY ARE SHOWN ON THEIR ARRIVAL FOR THE CONFERENCE

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of persons subscribing to Urdu journals in Bengal is 39,000 while that for Hindi is 1,41,000. These figures would more than justify the recognition of Hindi on the same plane as Urdu or Hindustani from both Calcutta and Dacca.

6. As regards Bombay, that Government have not favoured us with a reply by the due date, but we have made it clear in our letter that if no reply is received by that date we would assume their concurrence. Our proposal to allot the balance available after satisfying the requirements of . . . local languages, equally between Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani, may, therefore, stand.

7. No modifications have been suggested by any province regarding the suggested allocation of percentage between Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani from the Delhi station except the CP Government who have suggested Hindi 45 per cent, Urdu 35 per cent and Hindustani 20 per cent. I feel, however, that there is no reason to disturb our proposal of 40 per cent Hindi, 40 per cent Urdu and 20 per cent Hindustani.

8. From the above, you will see that there is a very substantial measure of agreement among the Provincial Governments with my proposals and I now propose to issue final orders on the above-mentioned lines. I have noticed a growing impatience among the Members of the Legislature on the subject and have reason to believe that the critics of All India Radio are also getting increasingly dissatisfied with the present unsystematic position in this respect. I feel that the orders on the subject can no longer be delayed.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell
New Delhi

84

New Delhi
10 February 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have been able to make time to listen in to the broadcasts of All India Radio for the last two weeks and want to suggest to you two things that I have noticed.

The first is in respect of Indian music. You perhaps do not know that I have always taken a keen interest in Indian music

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and at one time practised it myself. It has, therefore, been a shock to me to find that the standard of music of All India Radio broadcast is extremely poor. I have always felt that All India Radio should set the standard in Indian music and lead to its continual improvement. Instead, the present programmes have an opposite effect and lead one to suspect that the artistes are sometimes chosen not on grounds of merit.

The second thing is in respect of the overseas broadcasts of All India Radio in Arabic, Persian and English. These were instituted during the war and have been somewhat curtailed after the cessation of hostilities. They can, however, serve as a useful vehicle of our national interests and represent the Indian point of view abroad. Unfortunately the present broadcasts do not fully serve either purpose. They are not only inferior from the point of view of language and style but, what is worse, the contents of the broadcasts and their point of view leave much room for improvement.

I know you are extremely busy and it is hardly possible for you to attend to these details. If, however, you desire, I am willing to help in any way possible. I do not know the exact position but if there be no insuperable objection, would you ask your Secretary for Broadcasting to come and see me about the programme on these two points viz. music and overseas programmes in Arabic and Persian? I shall find time to advise him from time to time and keep you informed. If I have any further suggestions to make on these two questions, I shall either write to you or discuss with you when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

85

New Delhi
20 February 1947

My dear Maulana Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th instant, in which you were good enough to make some suggestions regarding the improvement of music and overseas broadcasts of All India Radio.

2. I am glad to know that you are taking so much interest in

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these matters, and I am always at your disposal in regard to any suggestions that you might have to make for the improvement of these broadcasts. While I make no apology for such defects as exist in the quality of these broadcasts, I think it would be a mistake to ignore the patent fact that the artistic talent at the disposal of each radio station is limited, and that they have to make the best of whatever talent is available to them. We have also to take note of the fact that the remuneration which we can give to these artistes is not sufficiently attractive, and having regard to the present financial difficulties, of which you are no doubt aware, it does not seem possible to make any improvement in that respect.

3. The limited availability of talent in foreign languages is even more marked.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
22 Prithviraj Road
New Delhi

86

New Delhi
18 February 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I want to draw your kind attention to the new recruitment of station directors, assistant directors, listeners research officers and others for All India Radio which is coming very soon.

You will observe that the representation of the Sikhs in this department is far from being adequate. I request to ensure that suitable candidates from among the Sikhs are recommended by the FPSC. I can assure you that qualified Sikhs are available for the job.

I hope that you will personally look into the matter and take some steps to remedy the defects.

Yours sincerely,
Mangal Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 February 1947

Dear Sardar Mangal Singh,

Please refer to your letter of 18 February 1947 regarding appointments to All India Radio.

2. As you are aware, we have already issued instructions regarding the rotation in which appointments are to be filled by various communities. In communicating our requirements to the Federal Public Service Commission, we make it clear that a particular post is to be filled by a representative of a particular community. Beyond this I am afraid it is not possible for us to interfere with the discretion of the Federal Public Service Commission.

3. I regret, therefore, it is not possible for me to do anything further in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
V. J. Patel

Sardar Mangal Singh, MLA (Central)
New Delhi

88

21 April 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I understand you have returned after your strenuous tour with a bad throat.

I am sending a marked copy of the Dawn which you might usefully send to the Viceroy if you are thinking of taking some steps. The appeal to "tune in" to an illegal radio broadcaster

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is a bold and overt act of downright rebellion which if not taken notice of will lead on to utter and wholesale defiance.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

A new radio station has lately come on the air (not AIR) which presumably operates "underground." It begins and ends its programmes with the slogan: "Pakistan Zindabad!"

Listeners in Delhi can hear it on the 70 metre band at 8-30 a.m. and 8 p.m. Reception is not very distinct but it is audible, and better in the evenings. It also comes on the air at other times, which are announced in advance.

An API message says that this radio is causing much headache to the Frontier Ministry who have employed a detection staff to locate it.

Dawn
21 April 1947

89

New Delhi
27 April 1947

My dear Mehrchand,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter from the Director-General of All India Radio giving some information about "Radio Pakistan." It may be of some assistance to you in locating it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Mehrchand Khanna
Minister for Finance & Information
Government of North-West Frontier Province
Peshawar

[1] Joined Gandhi's satyagraha campaign and non-co-operation movement in 1920; General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1921-22; member, Congress Working Committee, uninterruptedly until 1942; first Premier of Madras after 1937 elections; resigned from Congress in view of differences over Muslim League's claim to Pakistan; assisted Gandhi in talks with Jinnah, 1944; member, Interim Government, 1946-47; Governor of West Bengal, 1947-48; acting Governor-General, June 1948—January 1950; Union Minister without Portfolio, July-December 1950; Minister of Home Affairs, 1950-51; Chief Minister of Madras, 1952-54; founded Swatantra Party in 1959 to challenge "Leftist" policies of Congress

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Civil Secretariat
NWF Province
Peshawar
1 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I thank you for your letter of 27 April, enclosing a copy of the letter from the Director-General of All India Radio, giving some information about "Radio Pakistan." We have been making enquiries in the matter but so far have failed to locate the transmitter. Both the police and the military are doing their best.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Mehrchand Khanna

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

91

New Delhi
25 April 1947

Dear Syed Sahib,

You will remember that you referred to certain instances of partisan attitude on the part of All India Radio in justification of an adjournment motion which you intended to move on this subject. Subsequently I received through the Legislative Assembly Department a question which you intended to ask me at short notice. I declined to answer it at short notice because it referred to certain matters of detail which obviously required reference to records and therefore involved some time. I was hoping, however, that I would have occasion to reply to them as ordinary questions. But I find that of the four questions, in which you split up that long question, only one was admitted by the President and I have already replied to it on the floor of the House.

2. I feel, however, that if there is any genuine misapprehension or doubt on your part, I should do my best to clear it, and with

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that object I am giving you below the position in respect of each item to which you referred in your original question:

(a) Your first point was regarding the difference in treatment meted out to the statements issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan with reference to the complaint regarding lack of co-operation of Muslim League Members of the Interim Government. I do not know in what respect you considered that there was a difference of treatment, but I have carefully examined the relevant portion of the two bulletins and compared them with the reports in the Hindustan Times, the Statesman and the Dawn. The relevant passage in the report of Jawaharlal's speech received from the news agencies consisted of 709 words and that of the statement of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan consisted of 535 words. These were summarised in the bulletin into items of 278 and 240 words respectively. You will notice that on a strictly proportionate basis, the latter has received a slightly more space than the former. I also notice that both summaries bring out the salient points in the relevant Press reports adequately.

(b) Your second point referred to the omission on the part of All India Radio to broadcast Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan's statement on the above-mentioned complaint. That statement made points which had already been covered in the statement issued by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and added nothing material to the controversy; it was, therefore, considered unsuitable for inclusion in the news bulletin.

(c) Your third point was regarding the omission to include in the broadcast Mr. Jinnah's interview with Miss Cummings on 10-11-46 and with Foreign Press correspondents on 14-11-46. The former was not considered of sufficient news value, while the latter, because of pressure on space on the day in question, could only have been reported in so summarised a form as to cause distortion.

(d) Your fourth point was in regard to Mr. Jinnah's address to the Punjab Relief Committee for Bihar. Presumably your reference is to the statement made by Mr. Jinnah on the formation of the Central Muslim League Relief Committee for Bihar. This was reported in the 9 p.m. bulletin on 23-11-46.

(e) Your fifth complaint was regarding the non-publication of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar's statement in Patna on 6-11-46 on Bihar atrocities. Unfortunately the message was received by All India Radio too late, namely, on 7-11-46 after Mr. Nishtar had arrived back in Delhi.

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(f) Your sixth complaint was regarding the resolutions of the recent Karachi meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on Bihar atrocities, on the disturbances in Bombay and other minority provinces, on evictions in Assam and on the imposition of fine and taking of hostages in the Frontier. These resolutions were reported in the 8 a.m. English news bulletins on 2-2-47 and 3-2-47.

(g) Your last complaint was regarding Mr. Jinnah's statement issued from Karachi on the Punjab situation on 2-2-47. This was reported in the 8 a.m. English news bulletin on 3-2-47.

3. My instructions to All India Radio are that it should deal with news items strictly from the point of view of news-value and there should be no consideration of personality or politics in the treatment of news which they get from service agencies or, in rare cases, from their own special representatives. Having regard to the volume of news which All India Radio has to handle and the pace at which work has to be carried on, there is undoubtedly some room for errors of judgment, but the instances which you have pointed out hardly bear out any deliberate interference with the implementation of my instructions. On the other hand, unless a person listens closely and attentively to all the news bulletins, there is considerable scope for genuine misapprehension. I hope that the details which I have furnished above will go some way to remove your misapprehensions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Syed Ghulam Bhik. Narang[1]

92

New Delhi
19 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

In yesterday's Dawn there was an article entitled "For the Viceroy" which made certain charges against All India Radio and asked for your intervention. Perhaps in the hurry of your departure it did not attract your attention but since the charges were made against me personally and against the department of which I am in charge, I thought I would investigate matters and

[1] Muslim League leader of Punjab; member, Central Legislative Assembly

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let you know the actual position. The enquiries which I made have shown that as usual the Dawn is cent per cent off the track and the whole article is a tissue of lies and misstatements. The attached statement gives in parallel columns the allegations made and the replies thereto in so far as specific charges can be gleaned from the article. I need hardly say that the days of this kind of journalism are numbered.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi
25 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 19 June and for your comments on Dawn's article of 18 June, which I was interested to read.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

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New Delhi
31 January 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing copy of a letter dated 30 January 1947 which I have sent to Rajaji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
30 January 1947

My dear Rajaji,

All of us are rather vague as to what is being done in regard to industrial development. Is it possible for your Director-General to prepare a brief report on the present position, mentioning in particular the specific schemes in hand and when they are likely to be completed? Also, what other schemes are in prospect? We talk vaguely of what is being done and what we want done without knowing much of the exact position. I think there should be periodical checking of the rate of progress. We should have reports at least once a quarter about the schemes, so that we may be able to judge of the progress made.

There is another aspect of this matter. It is important that we should give due publicity in India and abroad to our schemes of development. Most people seem to think that our main industry is rioting. The best way to check this false notion is to supply in attractive form facts and figures of what is actually being done in regard to industrial and other forms of development. I suggest, therefore, that a brief report might be prepared by our Director-

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General, and in addition some kind of propaganda pamphlets might also be produced and made over to the Information Department.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Shri C. Rajagopalachari

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New Delhi
10 February 1947

My dear Rajaji,

I have received a proposal which concerns the question which was discussed in the Assembly last week on the motion of Shri Sri Prakasaji[1], MLA, and you made certain observations on behalf of Government. I am sending a copy of it to you for your consideration. We will have to decide this question finally.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Member for Industries & Supplies
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

[This unsigned and undated proposal is presumably by a prominent industrialist.]

Our industrial progress so far has been in industries like the textiles, sugar, cement and paper, which are characterised by simple mechanical or technical processes. In these industries, the technique is so standardised that if one gets the right type of machines, one is not likely to go wrong with the technique.

The industrial progress that we have to achieve in future is of a different nature. We are short of metallurgical, chemical, electrical and machine-building industries. In all these industries, the units of production are

1 Educationist, journalist and politician; member, AICC 1918-45; Secretary, UPCC, 1928-34; General Secretary, Congress, 1929-31; MLA (Central), 1934 and 1945; member, CA, 1946; Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, 1947-49; Commerce Minister in Nehru Cabinet; successively Governor of Assam, Madras and Bombay

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comparatively few, and their own progress is closely bound up with technical and scientific research. In fact it can be said that each step and each new direction is taken only with a view to take advantage of a technical or scientific discovery. The history and the development of the chemical industry of Germany is a classical instance; more recently the development of the aluminium industry, the rayon, the plastic and the automobile industries are instances to the point.

The obvious consequences of this close link between industry and scientific or technical discoveries are that both the processes and the machines used to manipulate these processes are owned by the factories themselves. One could not as it were walk into the bazaar and purchase them, as one can purchase a spinning frame, a sugar mill dryer, or a transmission motor. Again the processes themselves are highly intricate and are the result of a closely guarded experience. Therefore those others who want to develop these industries must have a close collaboration with people who are in the field themselves. This is particularly so, because continuous scientific research is the only thing which keeps these industries alive and progressive. One's work is therefore not over by merely borrowing a known technique. He has to have either independent research progress of his own or associate with some one else who has it.

It will be realised from the above that if we want to take the next stride in our industrial development, it could be done successfully only if industrial units in India were to associate themselves with foreign industrial concerns, and have the benefits of their patents, their experience and their research. As the recent agreements in the case of the manufacture of dyes and chemicals, rayon, rubber and motor cars show, persons connected with the various industries have already realised these difficulties, and have in their own way attempted to find a way out according to their understanding and appreciation of the problem. It should also be said that on the whole these agreements have been concluded on sound business lines and have also been mindful of the larger national implications of the arrangements made.

It should however be appreciated that these agreements have their effect on the economic and political life of the country. No industrialist would like or dare to interfere with these things if he can help it; nor is it right that any evaluation in these matters should be left to him. It is therefore suggested that in the light of the above observations, the Government should themselves appreciate and recognise the need of these agreements, and lay down a policy which would act as a guide to the public. It is clear, for instance, the Government should find some way to implement the resolution passed by the Congress some years back, that it will not tolerate a wholly foreign manufacturing unit under an Indian name, or an Indian registration, nor an arrangement arrived at between an Indian and a foreign concern, with a view to camouflage the existence and the business of the foreign concern. It should also make

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it clear that however large the value of the collaboration be, the management should be predominantly Indian. Regarding participation by way of a contribution of foreign capital, provided that the control is in Indian hands, a participation by itself is not necessarily an evil, and is occasionally the only way to induce the foreigner to have a stake in the business. It may however be remembered that the foreigner, in many cases, will be called upon to give up an established market, and therefore can be forced into a minor participation only up to a limit. Considering this, it may not perhaps be practicable to go beyond a 70 p.c. Indian and a 30 p.c. foreign participation. Payment will have to be made for the purchase of patents or their use; and in many cases, it may be also necessary to call out foreign experts and pay for their services.

If the Government were to come out with a clear declaration somewhat on the above lines, it will clear the air and assure the industrialists that they are not in any way harming the national interests. Of course such a declaration will not cover all cases, where foreign help may be considered necessary on other grounds. In those cases it will always be open for persons interested in those industries to approach the Government and explain their particular difficulties.

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New Delhi
27 February 1947

My dear Gulzarilal[1],

I was hoping all along that arrangements will be made for a full attendance of the representatives of the labour organisations under the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh and other allied unions at the annual sessions of the Trade Union Congress. Khandubhai[2] had spoken to me some time ago that "We have decided to attend in full strength and to stage a walk-out from the conference" and start a parallel organisation as a rival Trade Union Congress with some appropriate name. I now find that the Trade Union Congress session is over and none of our people attended the Congress.

The Labour Member of the Central Government was complaining to me that the existence of the recognised Trade Union

1 Labour leader; Secretary, Ahmedabad Textile Labour Union, 1922-46; Parliamentary Secretary, Bombay, 1946-50; later Minister in Central Government 1950-67; twice interim Prime Minister after death of Nehru and Shastri

2 Labour leader of Gujarat and one of the organisers of INTUC; trusted lieutenant of Sardar Patel; Union Minister of Labour, 1954-57; Governor of Andhra Pradesh since 1968

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Congress, which is now under the control of the Communist Party, leaves him no option but to select men of their choice as official representatives in international conferences, which gives them a status which they do not deserve. Besides, such exclusive selection gives them a status and strength that is being utilised for creating trouble all over India. The Government of India is being embarrassed owing to this status in the event of their taking legitimate action against them for their violent and terrorist activities.

We have missed the opportunity this time, but we cannot wait till the next annual session, and I think it is high time that we should mobilise our forces and start a parallel organisation which may for all intents and purposes be recognised as a genuine Trade Union Congress. You may consult the Bombay friends and also Khandubhai about this matter and suggest your reactions without delay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda
Minister for Labour
Government of Bombay
Bombay

PS.

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava[1] wrote to me some time ago that, in the matter of dispute between the Birla mills and their workmen in the Punjab, both parties have agreed to refer the matter to arbitration and also to accept my nominee as arbitrator. Somebody will have to be sent there, and you must suggest the name of a person I can nominate.

97

7 May 1947

Dear Khandubhai,

Herewith I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 50,000. It is for the Indian National Trade Union. You have on your shoulders a work of great responsibility and this must proceed speedily. In the initial stage, finance would be needed and for that the work should not suffer. As you have been a secretary, you have

[1] Congress worker of Punjab from 1919; elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937 and again in 1946; Prime Minister of Punjab, 1947-51

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to carry its burden. Open office in Bombay and get to work in earnest. Appoint the necessary staff and put me in touch from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

PS.

For the BBCI Union I have already remitted Rs. 10,000 to Shantilal.[1]

V.J.P.

[Original in Gujarati]

98

8 May 1947

My dear Gulzarilal,

Yesterday I sent a cheque for Rs. 50,000 to Khandubhai at Ahmedabad by registered letter for the use of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh. This will give you enough scope to start our work with all possible speed. We must not lose any time in organising and mobilising our forces so as to make the new organisation strong and effective. If we neglect or slacken our efforts in any manner, the organisation will not be taken seriously. Arrangements should be made to start propaganda and publicity on an organised scale, so that we may be able to meet with the criticism that is being organised against us. Some reports should appear daily of our activities and of our growing strength. The office should be opened immediately in Bombay and some full-time men should be employed in the office. You must spare some time to devote to this work in the office and the publicity department. You must also write to all organisations that are likely to join the new organisation, and set up machinery for the election that is to take place before the end of three months. If any action is to be taken by the Central Government in this connection, or in connection with the checking up or the scrutiny of the registers of other organisations, you must write to Jagjivan Ram about it. A general appeal for funds should also be drafted and efforts should be made to give publicity to it, and somebody should be entrusted with the work of collection.

[1] One of early members of Congress Socialist Party; participated in all national movements connected with INTUC; member of Bombay Legislative Council and its Deputy Chairman; was in charge of Congress election office in 1945-47; member of CA from Bombay

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Please keep me informed of the progress that is being made from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda
Bombay

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New Delhi
19 May 1947

Dear Sardarji,

The Working Committee in its meeting on 4 May considered the enclosed resolution passed by the Central Board of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh at its meeting on 3 May 1947 in Delhi with an accompanying letter by its Secretary, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, and it was resolved that the resolution should be sent to the members of the committee appointed by the Working Committee by its resolution passed at Wardha on 13 August 1946 and they be asked whether now after this resolution of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh they will recommend to the Working Committee to give effect finally to its resolution on recognition being given to the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh. For your ready reference a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee dated 13 August 1946 is also enclosed herewith.

From that resolution you will find that the Working Committee appointed a committee consisting of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Lala Gulzarilal Nanda and Shri P. H. Patwardhan[1] to confer with the HMSS and report to the Working Committee in order that the resolution of the Working Committee may be given effect to. Two members of the committee, viz. Sardar Patel and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, made a report on the basis of the resolution passed by the Central Board of the Sangh that effect should be given to the resolution of the Working Committee. The third member, viz. Shri P. H. Patwardhan, sent his suggestions separately. The whole thing was placed before the Working Committee in one of its meetings, but no final decision was taken. In the meanwhile another meeting of the Central Board of the HMSS was held in Delhi on 2 and 3 May and it has passed the above-mentioned resolution. The resolution accepts the election principle

1 Personal friend and co-worker of Sardar Patel

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in the working of the Sangh and therefore the main objection to the acceptance of the Sangh as the representative body of the Congress in the labour field that it is practically a nominated organisation is removed.

I wish to place this subject again before the next meeting of the Working Committee which is being held on 31 May and subsequent days. As in the changed situation the matter has become urgent, I hope you will send us your opinion immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF THE HINDUSTAN MAZDOOR SEVAK SANGH AT NEW DELHI ON 3 MAY 1947

"The constitution of the Sangh be revised to introduce the principle of election in the case of local and provincial branches, which have been functioning regularly for a period of not less than two years. Every member who has signed the pledge of the Sangh can be a voter in the primary election. The Central Board and the Working Committee will also be constituted by election."

ENCLOSURE II

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE ON 13 AUGUST 1946

Whereas the Congress has to play an increasingly active role in helping the working class to organise itself on sound and healthy lines, to achieve the rightful place in industry and society and to make a progressive contribution towards raising the economic and social standards in this country, the Committee have come to the conclusion that a central agency should be provided to encourage, support and co-ordinate the efforts and activities of Congressmen in the field of labour organisation and the service of the working class. The Committee note with satisfaction that the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh has been functioning in this field for a number of years, and

1 Congress leader from Maharashtra; joined non-co-operation movement in 1920; member, AICC and Working Committee; member, CA from Bombay

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has built up a policy, tradition and machinery well calculated to advance and fulfil the aims which the Congress has in view in relation to labour. The Committee recommend to Congressmen to make the fullest use of the facilities provided by the Sangh for the service of the working class, and to accept its guidance in dealing with labour questions.

In order to give effect to the above resolution a committee consisting of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Lala Gulzarilal Nanda and P. H. Patwardhan be appointed to confer with the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh and report to the Working Committee.

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Mussoorie
22 May 1947

My dear Shankarrao Deo,

I have received your letter of the 19th instant with its enclosures.

I do not think that Shri Rao Saheb Patwardhan will agree with us in anything in this matter, because the Socialist group as such is opposed to the formation of the new National Trade Union Congress. In fact, the whole question has been hanging on for such a long time because of the direct or indirect hostility of that group. You can place the matter before the Working Committee again and try to get a decision.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Shankarrao Deo
General Secretary
All India Congress Committee
6 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi

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Mussoorie
23 May 1947

My dear Nanda,

I have received a representation from the Textile Association (India) and the Bombay European Textile Association, complaining about the difficulties of the supervisory staff of the textile

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industry. They saw the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, who advised them to see you in the matter. In your absence they had met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. I do not know whether there is a feeling of insecurity amongst the supervisory staff of the textile industry. If it is so, proper steps should be taken to ensure the safety of that staff. I trust you will do the needful in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda
Bombay

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Bombay
26 May 1947

Revered Sardar Shri,

I have just received your letter of 23 May concerning a representation from the Textile Association and the Bombay European Textile Association submitted to you regarding the difficulties of the supervisory staff of the textile industry. They had met the Home Minister and not the Prime Minister. I am informed that suitable instructions have been issued to the police to deal with the elements which are responsible for causing this sense of insecurity. I am inviting the representatives of these bodies personally so that I can have first-hand knowledge of their difficulties. I shall take such further step as may be found necessary.

Yours sincerely,
G. L. Nanda

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

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106 Constitution House
New Delhi
24 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I enclose a copy of the telegram which I received from Mr. Ambekar who is in charge of the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh.

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I think it will be a good idea if the mill and factory owners declare 15 August as a paid holiday. I hope you will agree with this suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM FROM MR. AMBEKAR OF THE RASHTRIYA MILL MAZDOOR SANGH, BOMBAY, DATED 23 JULY 1947

KINDLY REQUEST INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS PRESIDENT APPEAL FACTORY OWNERS DECLARE 15 AUGUST AS PAID HOLIDAY. BEFITTING OCCASION. REQUEST YOURSELF ALSO MOVE. BOMBAY PROVINCE EMPLOYERS' LETTER FOLLOWS.

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New Delhi
26 July 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Thank you for your letter dated 24 July 1947.

I have asked the Home Department to take the matter up with the Labour Department regarding a paid holiday for factory employees on 15 August.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. G. Kher
Constitution House
New Delhi

[1] Popularly known as Balasaheb Kher; solicitor; entered politics in 1922; Secretary of Swaraj Party and of Bardoli Satyagraha Inquiry Committee; emerged on national scene in 1937 when Sardar Patel selected him in preference to K. F. Nariman as leader, Bombay Legislature Congress party; became first Premier of Bombay; later High Commissioner in London

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New Delhi
4 August 1947

My dear Matthai,/Jawaharlal,

I would invite your attention to the Weekly Financial Review published in today's Statesman. It gives a summary of the report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank which would be presented to the shareholders of the bank in Calcutta.

The following extract is of special interest:

> "The report suggests as the most urgent need the rapid and relentless elimination of corruption in the administration to prevent deterioration of controls to a stage where all talk of planned development will have to be abandoned. Agricultural-industrial production must next be increased to arrest the progress of inflation, and in this context the report states that 'there is little doubt that the severity of the last budget is defeating its own purpose and is hindering the formation of capital for productive purposes.' The report concludes with a trenchant warning which the new Governments would be well advised to give the most serious consideration. 'Unless correctives are applied without delay,' it says, 'there is a danger of the very foundations of society and economic life of the country being undermined by deepening penury and despair.' "

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai, CIE
Member for Transport and Railways
New Delhi

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad
6 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

AHMEDABAD TEXTILE WORKERS CELEBRATING INDEPENDENCE FOURTEENTH MIDNIGHT. KINDLY SEND YOUR INSPIRING MESSAGE TELEGRAPHICALLY.

KHANDUBHAI DESAI
SECRETARY, TEXTILE LABOUR ASSOCIATION

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New Delhi
10 August 1947

Dear Mr. Khandubhai Desai,

With reference to your telegram dated 6 August 1947 addressed to the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, I am sending herewith his message for your association.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar[1]
Private Secretary to The Hon'ble
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Khandubhai Desai
Secretary, Textile Labour Association
Mirzapur
Ahmedabad

1 ICS; Sardar Patel's Private Secretary from September 1946 up to the time of Sardar's death in December 1950

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ENCLOSURE

SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE

The struggle for India's freedom in which the textile labour of Ahmedabad had contributed its due share under the discipline, control and guidance of the Mazdur Mahajan, comes to a successful end on 15 August. We have all reason to be proud of the glorious end of the struggle. The political success we have achieved is great, but we have still to reach the greater goal which was set out by Gandhiji and we have now to concentrate our efforts to attain that goal. That success, if we could achieve, would be much more glorious than the one we have just attained. I trust that the textile workers of Ahmedabad will play their full part in that struggle.

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New Delhi
18 August 1947

My dear Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee,

I am sending herewith a letter which was left with me by Mr. M. N. Dalal[1] some time ago regarding the prospect of establishing a factory which would manufacture arms and ammunitions and flash-lights and flash-light cells. In view of our policy regarding imports it seems to me essential that we have private concerns manufacturing these articles. I do not think that our own ordnance factories will be able to turn out sufficient quantities of small arms to meet civilian needs. If we have to do anything we must do with some speed; otherwise others may steal a march over us.

If you wish to discuss this matter any further, you may send for Mr. M. N. Dalal who is now in Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industries & Supplies
10 Queensway
New Delhi

1 Ex-Chairman, Council of State; Vice-President, Indian Branch of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

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New Delhi
16 September 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I am neither a newsmonger nor a coward but I have felt the necessity of writing to you freely and frankly on the subject of defence of this country. During the last three months I spoke and wrote several times to Shri Rajagopalachari, who was then my Honourable Member, about the suspicion generally prevalent in Delhi and the Punjab that fire-arms and ammunitions were being freely distributed amongst Muslims by certain agencies and that there was need for disarming certain people and for the expansion of our ordnance and ammunition factories. The verbal reply that I got was always to the effect that there was no ground to suspect that Muslims were armed or were being armed and that one or two cases of lapses could not constitute a real need of our getting busy with this work when other important things such as food etc. needed the Government's whole attention. I am not minimising the need for more food but I submit that the most important of all subjects now is the expansion of defence activities including the increase in industrial potential, manufacture of ammunitions and tear-gas etc. and the multipurpose military training for a great majority of our people. As labour strikes are likely to follow in the wake of these disturbances, it is very necessary that the army of India should be prepared for all emergencies. The whole of the population of this country may not constitute a regular army, but a great many people should be trained for helping in industry, agriculture and warfare if the worst comes to the worst. The food problem will become easier if the peasants can sell their grains for something else.

2. I am writing this with a heavy heart as I am one of those men who [have] many friends both amongst Hindus and Muslims. I have been a man of peace all my life but from personal knowledge and from what I hear of the nefarious activities of some of the more rabid element in society, I feel we have to remain in a state of preparedness.

3. You would remember that you yourself got a file sent to me on the manufacture of tear-gas in this country. It was entrusted

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to one Mr. Ahmed of your department. Neither my noting nor the action suggested on it have seen the light of day nor do I know whether any steps have been taken in this direction. I was the only Indian who was associated with early experiments carried out at Phillaur and should be of assistance if the manufacture of this is of interest to the country, but I do not even know where that file now is. I telephoned to the Secretary of the Home Department. He told me that he would soon take up the matter and it is more than two months which have elapsed and nothing has been heard of the proposal. May I venture to say that officers who generally run routine administration have never been entrusted with this kind of work and consequently they do not realise either the significance or the know-how of the procedure about such things? You have to have a new class of men with knowledge of such things who should be entrusted with work of this kind.

4. I wish also to submit to you my view that there is need of having a few experts from America and Germany for our defence organisation. The British have a background and it is difficult to get men without that background to serve in this country. Besides, the general impression prevalent in the country is that we have been let down very badly by the people whom we had retained in our military and other services.

5. Attention has now to be directed, I submit, to intensive defence preparations including increase of industrial and agricultural produce by all means at our disposal. Compulsion may have to be resorted to particularly in the case of Government-aided institutions and men for the furtherance of these objects. Have we a plan? Is anybody entrusted to do this?

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. S. Bhatnagar[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] Eminent scientist; Secretary of Union Education Ministry; primarily responsible for setting up Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and chain of national laboratories

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New Delhi
23 September 1947

My dear Bhatnagar,

Many thanks for your letter of 16 September 1947. I fully realise the intensity of your feelings about the matters which you have raised. I myself feel no less strongly on some of them. I am sure as a practical man you have full appreciation of our handicaps and difficulties. It was only in the middle of July that we managed to shake off what was regarded as an incubus, but things were in a flux and we could hardly take any major decision. About the middle of August we had some informal talks on our aims and ambitions and ways and methods of achieving them, but before we could take any concrete steps the Punjab cataclysm came upon us like an avalanche and almost swept us off our feet.

2. In the midst of all this, any constructive thinking or planning is out of the question. We are now getting control over the situation and I hope and pray that within a fortnight or so we shall be able to devote our energies to the great tasks that await us.

3. Shankar told me about your note on the tear-gas manufacture, but unfortunately for the reasons mentioned above, it has not been possible for us to take the matter up. I have again asked for the case papers to be put up and will look into the matter urgently.

4. I note your views on how to man the administration. I wish we had more manpower available.

5. I entirely share your views regarding the need of experts from America and Germany. This matter can be taken up only when we have time and opportunity to deal with these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Sir Shanti Saroop Bhatnagar
Director-General of Science and Industrial Research
New Delhi

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EXTRACTS

Nagpur
6 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am writing to you after a very long time. As a matter of fact I wanted to write to you on this subject even earlier than this but many other preoccupations prevented me from writing earlier to you on this subject.

2. The subject on which I am writing to you is about the unity in the working class. I have closely followed the events which have led to the formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress under your inspiration. I quite realise that there are strong grounds which have led you and the Hon'ble Mr. Nanda to form the National Trade Union Congress but at the same time I do feel that the step was taken rather hastily without consulting those of us who were generally in agreement with you and the Hon'ble Mr. Nanda as regards our attitude towards the Communist Party.

3. Before the All-India Trade Union Congress met at Calcutta in 1947 I had a talk with the Hon'ble Mr. Nanda at Bombay and it was then decided that all of us who are in the Congress should join the All-India Trade Union Congress and therefore we all decided to attend the All-India Trade Union Congress at Calcutta. Later on the labour situation in the country changed very rapidly and we had no intimation or information that we have to change our attitude to the All-India Trade Union Congress. However no useful purpose will be served at this time by referring to the events in the past.

4. What matters most now is the future of the working class movement in India. You possibly know that I have never seen eye to eye with the Communist Party of India, not only that but I have been a very strong and an open critic of the Communist Party of India. Recently we had an occasion to meet at Bombay in the All-India Trade Union Congress and many of us who are working in the All-India Trade Union Congress do feel that we have to throw over the dictatorship of the Communist Party

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in the All-India Trade Union Congress and to try to organise the central organisation of the working class on a proper basis. With this object we have formed the Workers' United Front.

5. So far as this province is concerned, we in the Congress dominate the entire working class movement. The Communists here are practically a drop in the ocean and the same position can be created on an all-India basis provided that all of us who are in the Trade Union Congress and those of us in the National Trade Union Congress put their heads together to chalk out a programme of work and action which will give a correct lead to the working class.

I hope you are keeping good health.

With my respectful pranams to you,

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Ruikar[1]

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New Delhi
13 October 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 6 October 1947. I have already sent a copy of it to Nandaji.

2. I am definitely of the view that the welfare of the working classes lies in their problems being approached from a non-political angle, namely, the interests of the working classes themselves. The Communists have a different philosophy. Some others have sympathies with the manner in which they have handled the labour problem to the ultimate detriment of the working classes.

3. I am glad to know that you have come to realise the need for a concerted action to wean the working classes away from the present Communistic influences. I would welcome such formal consultation as you have suggested, but would ask you to write direct to Nandaji [to] whom I am sending a copy of this letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri R. S. Ruikar
President, C. P. Textile Workers Federation
Walker Road
Nagpur

[1] Labour leader, MLA

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New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I understand that the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers has unanimously decided to invite Sir Shri Ram[1] to serve as Indian employers' delegate at the Asian Regional Labour Conference. Suggestions were made for the appointment of advisers. Apparently there is some difficulty because the Employers' Federation of India, Bombay, also want to have a separate representation on this delegation. The latter organisation is, as you know, representative mostly of the European interests in India and I do not see why we should at this stage grant any such representation to a body which is largely composed of European interests. The best course, therefore, would seem to be to accept the nomination of the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram
Labour Minister
New Delhi

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New Delhi
13 October 1947

My dear Nanda,

You remember when you were here I gave you a copy of the letter which I had received from Ruikar. I am sending you a copy of my reply. On hearing from him please take necessary appropriate action.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
Poona

1 Leading industrialist of Delhi

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CHAPTER V

NEW MOUNTBATTEN PLAN

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Viceregal Lodge
Simla
10 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I have spent very many hours during the last month in talking over the problems which confront us with the leaders of opinion in India, and you yourself have been good enough to spare me a great deal of your time.

Convinced as I am that an announcement ought to be made at the earliest possible moment as to how HMG propose to transfer authoriry to Indian hands by June 1948, I am most reluctant to postpone a decision on this matter for even a day longer than is necessary.

I have now reached certain conclusions, with which I have reason to believe HMG will agree. I should like to have a final talk about these conclusions before they are announced and I am therefore inviting the following, in addition to yourself, to meet me round the table in Delhi at 10.30 a.m. on 17 May:

Pandit Nehru
Mr. Jinnah
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and
Sardar Baldev Singh.

I earnestly trust that you may see your way to accepting this invitation.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
11 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your letter dated 10 May 1947 and for your kind invitation to meet you in Delhi at 10.30 a.m. on 17 May 1947.

I fully share your appreciation of the urgency of a decision on this matter and would be glad to attend the meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
11 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

On account of the parliamentary recess from 23 May to 2 June, inclusive, His Excellency the Viceroy asks me to say that he very much regrets that the meeting on 17 May to which he invited you has had to be postponed until 2 June.

Yours sincerely,
C. P. Scott

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Simla
10 May 1947

My dear Sardar,

I am sorry I could not write to you earlier. Ever since I came here on Wednesday last, I have been very busy, practically living in Viceregal Lodge. The immediate business was the amendments

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suggested in HMG's announcement. You are already aware of the substance of the announcement. There is no departure in the substance, only in the wording. The decision is that the legislatures of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, divided according to Muslim and non-Muslim districts, should choose whether they would desire partition. For this purpose, the number of representatives to be chosen will be 4 per million of population and not 1 per million. The intention is to get a larger number of elected representatives as otherwise, on the Cabinet Mission's Plan, two members out of three in Sylhet will decide the issue of separation from Assam.

The paragraph in which you are most interested is that relating to the position of the NWFP. I attempted a draft in private consultation with Panditji [Nehru], though he made it quite clear that he was not in any way to be brought into it. The proposal I put forward was that the decision whether the NWFP should join the Indian Union or join the proposed Pakistan should be left to the last possible minute. After the provinces of Bengal, Punjab and Assam have decided on the issue of Pakistan, a referendum of the existing electors to the Provincial Legislative Assembly in the NWFP should be held. This referendum should be under the supervision of the Governor-General and after consultation with the provincial Government. It is very difficult to deny putting the issue to the electors and unless a decision is taken by the province, progress will be held up all along the line. The important consideration from your point of view is that it should not be related to the existing agitation. I know that H.E. would be prepared to go to the farthest extent to meet the Congress point of view in this respect. I have this morning attempted another draft on the basis of my proposal which [Sir Eric] Mieville is taking to Panditji. It will be telegraphed to the Secretary of State today because the final approval of the Cabinet will be taken to the draft announcement tomorrow morning.

The plan was to call a meeting of the five, namely, Panditji, yourself, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali and Baldev Singh on the 22nd. This programme has now been advanced because Parliament is rising for the Whitsuntide recess on 22 May. The programme which has now been agreed is this. Ismay arrives on the 16th evening; on the 17th at 10.30 the conference meets: at that conference H.E. makes one more effort for the acceptance of the Cabinet Delegation's Plan. In all probability Jinnah will reject it. Then H.E. will give you five a copy of HMG's Plan. This you

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will take with you for consultation with the Working Committees and a meeting will take place again the next day to ascertain your views on important points. H.E. will also meet on the 17th some representatives of the Indian States to tell them what is going on. On the 18th, H.E. will hold a further meeting and go through the Plan paragraph by paragraph and finally telegraph to the Secretary of State the views expressed at the conference. This will be considered by HMG on the 19th and a decision will be communicated to H.E. on the 20th. H.E. will again summon the leaders at 5 o'clock on Tuesday, 20 May, and tell them of any alterations which may have been made in the Plan. The announcement will be made in Parliament on Tuesday the 20th followed up by H.E.'s broadcast.

H.E. also asked me to discuss with Panditji the plan of parting with power early on the basis of a Dominion Status constitution. I attach a copy of a note which embodies the result of my conversation with Panditji. But when Panditji saw H.E. on the 8th, he gave H.E. the impression that he went back on what he told me. I then suggested to H.E. that it would be better to have a further meeting with Panditji. Accordingly, Panditji, H.E., Mieville and myself had a discussion today. A detailed report is being prepared. I will show it to you when I come back to Delhi. The important points that were raised are as follows:

1. Dominion Status: Panditji agreed that it was essential that transfer of power should take place as early as possible. I mentioned at the conference the statement which you made on this question yesterday. There was some discussion as to how this period could be described. Ultimately it was decided that this interim constitution on a dominion basis should last till India was in a position to decide on the new Indo-British relationship after a Government under the new constitution was formed. This is quite satisfactory. In this connection Panditji raised the question whether it would not be possible to defer the question of partition till the existing Constituent Assembly had drafted a constitution so that, before any unwilling part of the country decided to remain separate, it would have an opportunity of seeing the new constitution. H.E. replied that this would mean delay and uncertainty. He stressed that we should not now delay the question of partition, which was in the best interests of India because he was sure that the truncated Pakistan, if conceded now, was bound to come back later. On the other hand, if there was delay, the uncertainty might lead to renewed agitation on the part of Jinnah

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and consequent deterioration in the political atmosphere. I agreed with H.E.'s observations because our slogan should now be "divide in order to unite."

H.E. once suggested to me that he should invite you to Simla. When the conference was over, he told me that he should discuss the Dominion Status issue with you immediately on his return to Delhi. But I told him that before Ismay[1] left London we should put the matter to HMG and start them working on the plan. I further suggested that there would not be any difficulty, in the event of partition, in giving Hindustan complete autonomy on a dominion basis, leaving Pakistan to take the same position when it was ready to do so. But, to tie both of them to the same yoke would create difficulties for all concerned. I am pressing as hard as I can for parting with power at the earliest possible date. H.E. is on my side but I am not quite sure about his other Advisers. I hope I shall succeed if you also weigh in heavily on my side as Panditji did today.

Two things you have contributed have really anticipated the Muslim League moves. The first one was your agreement to the partition of the Punjab. This has put a stop to Jinnah's vague cry of Pakistan. Muslims have now started considering seriously whether Pakistan as such is practicable if it involves division of the Punjab and Bengal. This may lead to sober judgment when the time comes. Secondly, the Muslim League thought that you would stand firm on your Independence stand and therefore they tried to win over the British by professing readiness to accept Dominion Status for Pakistan. (Bhopal is behind this move.) By your statement yesterday and the Congress Working Committee's resolution, which you were responsible for passing, you have stopped this also. On the whole, I feel you are in a strong position now.

2. H.E. also raised the question of a Defence Council and the machinery to be employed to keep defence more or less on a unified basis for the time being and to divide it gradually in the event of division becoming inevitable.

3. You remember you wrote a letter to H.E. about getting an assurance from Jinnah that he would accept a truncated Pakistan. The same issue was raised by Panditji. H.E. was quite categorical; he said he knew how to deal with Jinnah if he repudiated the understanding which he gave H.E. that he would accept

[1] Lord Ismay: Chief of Staff of Viceroy, March-November 1947; Military Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence, 1938

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a truncated Pakistan. Panditji suggested that it would be better to get a written assurance from Jinnah. But H.E. made it quite clear that if Jinnah attempted to lead him up the garden path, Jinnah would find H.E. tough enough.

4. The next question Panditji raised was the possibility of civil commotion in case a truncated Pakistan was conceded to the Muslim League. H.E. told Panditji that he was going to write to the Governor of Bengal to suggest that whatever measures were required to cope with the situation should be taken even if the Ministry did not co-operate; and that his intention was to move two or three brigades to the Punjab and an equal number to Calcutta.

5. The paragraph in the announcement about the NWFP was then discussed, and, as I told you before, this paragraph is now being agreed with Panditji.

In his talks with H.E., Panditji raised the question of filling up certain embassies abroad as well as changing some Governors. H.E. told Panditji that this should be approached methodically and not in a haphazard manner. He told Panditji to prepare a list (a) of the embassies which he would like to fill, showing the names of persons whom he would recommend, and (b) of the Governors whom he would like to see replaced by Indians. H.E.'s intention is that we should go on Indianising the governorships as soon as practicable.

H.E. then asked Panditji to arrange for the [Congress] Working Committee to be in Delhi on the 17th and also that Khan Sahib[1] should be summoned.

As I am most anxious that this letter should not go astray, I am sending my superintendent down with instructions to hand it over personally to you. If Maniben[2] could kindly telephone to me that you have received this letter, it would be a great relief to me. (My telephone No. is 934.) I don't think I shall write to you again. I will be leaving on Tuesday evening and will see you on Wednesday. Panditji is leaving tomorrow.

The final version of HMG's statement is expected either this evening or tomorrow morning. I think I will show it to you on

[1] Elder brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan; nationalist Muslim leader; Premier of NWFP before and after Independence; dismissed by Jinnah after partition; later Chief Minister of West Pakistan

[2] Daughter of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who acted as his personal aide for over two decades

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my return. I shall fully brief you before you go to the conference.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon[1]

PS.

S. P. Mookerjee had sent a telegram to Panditji about the rumours prevailing in Calcutta that preparations were being made by Muslims for observing an 'Anti-Partition Day' on 10 May. I showed the telegram to H.E., and a telegram was sent to the Governor of Bengal the day before yesterday. A reply from the Governor was received today, which was shown to Panditji, in which it was stated there was no foundation in the report and that there was no need to be anxious about the situation. In this connection, I may mention that it is H.E.'s intention on the second day of the conference to state in most categorical terms that he will not countenance violence in any form from any quarter and that he will put it down with all the power at his command.

ENCLOSURE

V. P. MENON'S NOTE ON HIS CONVERSATION WITH NEHRU AT SIMLA

I had a discussion with Pandit Nehru this morning on a plan for the transfer of power as an interim arrangement on the basis of a dominion constitution. The following are the main conclusions which have been accepted by him.

1. The starting point for the early transfer of power should be the Government of India Act, 1935, with modifications.

2. If the transfer of power could be brought about to a united India, it was certainly the best solution.

3. Pandit Nehru recognised that it might not be possible to have a united India at present. He was therefore agreeable to parting with power in Hindustan to an Executive Council elected by the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. The same procedure might be adopted in the separated area.

4. The Secretary of State, the India Office and the special powers of the Governors and the Governor-General under the Government of India Act, 1935, should go.

5. The Indian Legislature should be replaced by the Constituent Assembly.

[1] Reforms Commissioner during Viceroyalty of Wavell; Secretary, Ministry of States, July 1947-October 1948 and December 1949-May 1951; Adviser, Ministry of States, October 1948-November 1949; Governor of Orissa; played important role under Sardar Patel in integration of Princely States

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6. The Governor-General would be common to both Hindustan and Pakistan. Pandit Nehru himself suggested that the present Governor-General might be re-appointed by His Majesty.

7. The Governors of Hindustan provinces would be appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the Central Executive Council for Hindustan.

8. For matters of common concern a Joint Council might be set up.

9. There should not be any interference by Pakistan in Hindustan except in so far as it affects Pakistan.

2. In addition to the above, Pandit Nehru made the following points:

a. The preamble to the new Government of India Act should contain a reference to the Constituent Assembly and also an indication that the Act was an interim arrangement till a new constitution was framed by Indians.

b. The position of India should be exactly the same as that of any other dominion and therefore the title "Emperor of India" now held by the King should disappear.

c. He was not very particular whether the term "dominion" was used in the Act or not; but he agreed that a better term would be "Commonwealth of Free Nations."

d. There should not be any provision either in the Act or in the Instrument of Instructions for the representation of minorities in the Executive Council. He asserted that it was not the intention of the Congress to do down any minority but they would not like any imposition in this respect and the matter should be left to the good sense of the Congress.

3. We had a long argument about the Indian States and the consequences resulting from the lapse of paramountcy. Pandit Nehru suggested that the powers now exercised by the Crown Representative in respect of the three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications should be transferred to the new Dominion Government. I pointed out to him the difficulties in the way of such an arrangement. He was very particular that some sort of standstill agreement should be reached with the States, say, for a period of two years till it could be superseded by an agreed arrangement.

4. When we were discussing about the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan, Pandit Nehru indicated that HMG should not give an award on this. The less HMG did in this direction the better for all concerned. He was of opinion that HMG should only indicate a procedure or set up machinery for decision in the event of people in any particular area desiring separation.

5. Pandit Nehru stressed that the psychological effect of power being transferred earlier than 1948 would be an invaluable factor in the long-term view of Indo-British relationship. He quite appreciated that it would take a considerable time before the details of partition could be worked out. Once complete

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transfer of power was made as an interim arrangement on Dominion Status lines, the parties would have time to think things over with leisure and sobriety and proceed meanwhile with the urgent problems of administration and development. Further, arrangements for common matters and the part that the Governor-General played during the interim period would go very far in cementing the good relationship between Great Britain and India. He shared the hope that once the two Governments sat together and started drafting agreements they might find that these agreements were required in respect of so many matters that they might ultimately come right round to the view that an impassable barrier could not be created between the two Indias and that after all a unified constitution was better for all concerned.

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BROADCAST BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA AT 7 P.M. ON 3 JUNE 1947

A statement will be read to you tonight giving the final decision of His Majesty's Government as to the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands. But before this happens, I want to give a personal message to the people of India, as well as a short account of the discussions which I have held with the leaders of the political parties and which have led up to the advice I tendered to His Majesty's Government during my recent visit to London.

Since my arrival in India at the end of March I have spent almost every day in consultation with as many of the leaders and representatives of as many communities and interests as possible. I wish to say how grateful I am for all the information and helpful advice they have given me.

Nothing I have seen or heard in the past few weeks has shaken my firm opinion that with a reasonable measure of goodwill between the communities a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem.

For more than a hundred years 400 millions of you have lived together and this country has been administered as a single entity. This has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services and currency; an absence of tariffs and customs barriers; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy all this.

My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet Mission plan of 16 May 1946. In my opinion, that plan provides the best arrangement that can be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India. To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission plan, or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no

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question of coercing any large areas, in which one community has a majority, to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition.

But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, the Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain provinces. To my mind this argument is unassailable. In fact neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the Government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of provinces as I am to the partition of India herself and for the same basic reasons.

For just as I feel there is an Indian consciousness which should transcend communal differences so I feel there is a Punjabi and Bengali consciousness which has evoked a loyalty to their province.

And so I felt it was essential that the people of India themselves should decide this question of partition.

The procedure for enabling them to decide for themselves whether they want the British to hand over power to one or two Governments is set out in the statement which will be read to you. But there are one or two points on which I should like to add a note of explanation.

It was necessary in order to ascertain the will of the people of the Punjab, Bengal and part of Assam to lay down boundaries between the Muslim majority areas and the remaining areas, but I want to make it clear that the ultimate boundaries will be settled by a Boundary Commission and will almost certainly not be identical with those which have been provisionally adopted.

We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valiant community forms about an eighth of the population of the Punjab, but they are so distributed that any partition of this province will inevitably divide them. All of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab, which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent. The exact degree of the split will be left to the Boundary Commission on which they will of course be represented.

The whole plan may not be perfect; but like all plans, its success will depend on the spirit of goodwill with which it is carried out. I have always felt that once it was decided in what way to transfer power the transfer should take place at the earliest possible moment, but the dilemma was that if we waited until a constitutional set-up for all India was agreed, we should have to wait a long time, particularly if partition were decided on. Whereas if we handed over power before the Constituent Assemblies had finished their work we should leave the country without a Constitution. The solution to this dilemma, which I put forward, is that His Majesty's Government should

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transfer power now to one or two Governments of British India each having Dominion Status as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. This I hope will be within the next few months. I am glad to announce that His Majesty's Government have accepted this proposal and are already having legislation prepared for introduction in Parliament this session. As a result of these decisions the special function of the India Office will no longer have to be carried out, and some other machinery will be set up to conduct future relations between His Majesty's Government and India.

I wish to emphasise that this legislation will not impose any restriction on the power of India as a whole, or of the two States if there is partition, to decide in the future their relationship to each other and to other member-States of the British Commonwealth.

Thus the way is now open to an arrangement by which power can be transferred many months earlier than the most optimistic of us thought possible, and at the same time leave it to the people of British India to decide for themselves on their future, which is the declared policy of His Majesty's Government.

I have made no mention of the Indian States, since the new decisions of His Majesty's Government are concerned with the transfer of power in British India.

If the transfer of power is to be effected in a peaceful and orderly manner, every single one of us must bend all his efforts to the task. This is no time for bickering, much less for the continuation in any shape or form of the disorders and lawlessness of the past few months. Do not forget what a narrow margin of food we are all working on. We cannot afford any toleration of violence. All of us are agreed on that.

Whichever way the decision of the Indian people may go, I feel sure any British officials or officers who may be asked to remain for a while will do everything in their power to help implement that decision. His Majesty as well as his Government have asked me to convey to all of you in India their sincere good wishes for your future and the assurance of their continued goodwill.

I have faith in the future of India and am proud to be with you all at this momentous time. May your decisions be wisely guided and may they be carried out in the peaceful and friendly spirit of the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal.

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BROADCAST BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AT 7.30 P.M. ON 3 JUNE 1947

Friends and Comrades,

Nearly nine months ago, soon after my assumption of office, I spoke to you from this place. I told you then that we were on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There were many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be near, for that end was not the assumption of office in the Government of India but the achievement of the full independence of India and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth in which all will be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life.

Nine months have passed, months of sore trial and difficulty, of anxiety and sometimes even of heartbreak. Yet looking back at this period with its suffering and sorrow for our people there is much on the credit side also, for India has advanced nationally and internationally and is respected today in the councils of the world. In the domestic sphere something substantial has been achieved though the burden on the common man still continues to be terribly heavy and millions lack food and cloth and other necessaries of life. Many vast schemes of development are nearly ready and yet it is true that most of our dreams about the brave things we were going to accomplish have still to be realised.

You know well the difficulties which the country has had to face, economic, political and communal. These months have been full of tragedy for millions and the burden on those who had the governance of the country in their hands has been great indeed.

My mind is heavy with the thought of the sufferings of our people in the areas of disturbance, the thousands who are dead and those, especially our womenfolk, who have suffered agony worse than death. To their families and to innumerable people who have been uprooted from their homes and rendered destitute I offer my deep sympathy and assurance that we shall do all in our power to bring relief. We must see to it that such tragedies do not happen again.

At no time have we lost faith in the great destiny of India which takes shape even though with travail and suffering. My great regret has been that during this period, owing to excess of work, I have been unable to visit the numerous towns and villages of India, as I used to do, to meet my people and to learn about their troubles at first hand.

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Today I am speaking to you on another historic occasion when a vital change affecting the future of India is proposed. You have just heard an announcement on behalf of the British Government. This announcement lays down a procedure for self-determination in certain areas of India. It envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas seceding from India, on the other it promises a big advance towards complete independence. Such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect can be given to it, for it must always be remembered that the future of India can only be decided by the people of India and not by any outside authority, however friendly. These proposals will be placed soon before representative assemblies of the people for consideration. But meanwhile the sands of time run out and decisions cannot await the normal course of events. So while we must necessarily abide by what the people finally decide, we had to come to certain decisions ourselves and to recommend them to the people for acceptance.

We have, therefore, decided to accept these proposals and to recommend to our larger committees that they do likewise.

It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you though I have no doubt in my mind that this is the right course. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free and independent united India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede if they so will is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from the larger viewpoint. The united India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we shall reach that united India sooner than otherwise and that she will have a stronger and more secure foundation.

We are little men serving great causes, but because the cause is great something of that greatness falls upon us also. Mighty forces are at work in the world today and in India, and I have no doubt that we are ushering in a period of greatness for India. The India of geography, of history and tradition, the India of our minds and hearts cannot change.

On this historic occasion each one of us must pray that he might be guided aright in the service of the motherland and of humanity at large. We stand on a watershed dividing the past from the future. Let us bury that past in so far as it is bad and forget all bitterness and recrimination. Let there be moderation in speech and writing. Let there be strength and perseverance in adhering to the cause and the ideals we have at heart. Let us face the future not with easy optimism or with any complacency or weakness but with confidence and a firm faith in India.

There has been violence, shameful, degrading and revolting violence, in various parts of the country. This must end. We are determined to end it.

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We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence, now or in the future.

On this the eve of great changes in India we have to make a fresh start with clear vision and a firm mind, with steadfastness and tolerance and a stout heart. We should not wish ill to anyone but think always of every Indian as our brother and comrade. The good of the four hundred millions of India must be our supreme objective.

We shall seek to build anew our relations with England on a friendly and co-operative basis forgetting the past which has lain so heavily upon us.

I should like to express on this occasion my deep appreciation of the labours of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, ever since his arrival here at a critical juncture in our history.

Inevitably on every occasion of crisis and difficulty we think of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who has led us unfalteringly for over a generation through darkness and sorrow to the threshold of our freedom. To him we once again pay our homage. His blessing and wise counsel will happily be with us in the momentous years to come, as always.

With firm faith in our future I appeal to you to co-operate in the great task ahead and to march together to the haven of freedom for all in India —Jai Hind.

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BROADCAST BY MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH, PRESIDENT, ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, AT 7.40 P.M. ON 3 JUNE 1947

The statement of His Majesty's Government embodying the Plan for the transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the Press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. It gives the outlines of the Plan for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly, calmly and dispassionately. We must remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 million people. The world has no parallel for the most onerous and difficult task which we have to perform.

Grave responsibility lies particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore we must galvanize and concentrate all our energy to see that the transfer of power is effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. I most earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order. We must examine the Plan, its letter and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsi-

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bilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner having regard to the sum-total of the Plan as a whole.

It is clear that the Plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view; and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or that we agree with some of the matters dealt with by the Plan. It is for us now to consider whether the Plan as presented to us by His Majesty's Government should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to prejudge the decision of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which has been summoned to meet on Monday the 9th of June; and the final decision can only be taken by the Council according to our constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather on the whole the reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful. Of course the Plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken.

I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left on my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality and it is up to us now to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transfer of power to the peoples of India, in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now that the Plan that has been broadcast already makes it clear in paragraph 11 that a referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province who will choose which of the two alternatives in paragraph 4 they wish to adopt; and the referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the provincial Government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly. In these circumstances, I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Mussalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame, and this is hardly the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have suffered and those who died or whose properties were subjected to destruction and I fervently hope that the Frontier will go through this referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of every one to obtain a fair, free and true verdict of the people of the Frontier.

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New Delhi
3 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am deeply distressed at the abuse by Mr. Jinnah of the hospitality extended to him by All India Radio and his breach of the rules of broadcast which, as you are aware, are almost as inviolable as the laws of nature. I had not seen the script before the broadcast but I noticed later that not only did he depart from the script but he has also committed a sacrilege by making a political, partisan and propagandist broadcast. Had I known it in time I would certainly have prevented him from turning All India Radio into a Muslim League platform by not only justifying a movement which has resulted in so much bloodshed and destruction of property but also by appealing to Frontier voters to vote according to League persuasion.

I fully realise that you yourself did not expect, or had not sufficient notice to prevent it but I am really disappointed that he should have taken undue advantage of the courtesy and consideration extended to him by you, particularly on a solemn occasion when India and the whole world were watching us. I only hope that its consequences will not be equally mischievous and that he stood before the listeners self-condemned.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Rear Admiral the Viscount
Mountbatten of Burma, K.G.,P.C.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O.,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India

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STATEMENT BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

3 June 1947

Introduction

1. On February 20, 1947 His Majesty's Government announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948. His Majesty's Government had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16 May 1946 and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned. This hope has not been fulfilled.

2. The majority of the representatives of the provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new constitution. On the other hand, the Muslim League party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

3. It has always been the desire of His Majesty's Government that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves. This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved upon His Majesty's Government. After full consultation with political leaders in India, His Majesty's Government have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate constitution for India; this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India.

The Issues to Be Decided

4. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, His Majesty's Government trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those provinces, a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it,

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will now take their due share in its labours. At the same time, it is clear that any constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. His Majesty's Government are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their constitution is to be framed

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly; or

(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly.

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Bengal and the Punjab

5. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will, therefore, each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province. For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two provinces are set out in the Appendix to this announcement.

6. The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

7. Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, there shall be held a meeting of all members of the Legislative Assembly (other than European) at which a decision will be taken on the issue as to which Constituent Assembly the province as a whole would join if it were decided by the two parts to remain united.

8. In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt.

9. For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts. This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a final partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be

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needed; and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned. It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. It will also be instructed to take into account other factors. Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission. Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used.

Sind

10. The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in paragraph 4 above.

North-West Frontier Province

11. The position of the North-West Frontier Province is exceptional. Two of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly. But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the North-West Frontier Province an opportunity to reconsider its position. Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the North-West Frontier Province to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in paragraph 4 above they wish to adopt. The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

British Baluchistan

12. British Baluchistan has elected a member, but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly. In view of its geographical situation, this province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 above to adopt. His Excellency the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done.

Assam

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim. There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal. Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district

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under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of Assam province or should be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal, if that province agrees. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of Assam province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

Representation in Constituent Assemblies

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16 May 1946. Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal. The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows:

Province	General	Muslim	Sikhs	Total
Sylhet district	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

15. In accordance with the mandates given to them, the representatives of the various areas will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly.

Administrative Matters

16. Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on the administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon:

a. between the representatives of the respective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government, including Defence, Finance and Communications.

b. between different successor authorities and His Majesty's Government for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power.

c. in the case of provinces that may be partitioned, as to the administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc.

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The Tribes of the North-West Frontier

17. Agreements with the tribes of the North-West Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority.

The States

18. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission memorandum of 12 May 1946 remains unchanged.

Necessity for Speed

19. In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible. To avoid delay, the different provinces or parts of provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan. The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame constitutions for their respective territories: they will of course be free to frame their own rules.

Immediate Transfer of Power

20. The major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire His Majesty's Government are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power by the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date. Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities as come into being as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

Further Announcements by Governor-General

21. His Excellency the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements.

Appendix

The Muslim majority districts of the Punjab and Bengal according to the 1941 census:

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1. The Punjab

Lahore Division—Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhuura, Sialkot.
Rawalpindi Division—Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi, Shahpur.
Multan Division—Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh.

2. Bengal

Chittagong Division—Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera.
Dacca Division—Bakerganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh.
Presidency Division—Jessore, Murshidabad, Nadia.
Rajshahi Division—Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rangpur.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

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NOTE BY VICEROY

Withdrawal of British Forces

1. HMG have announced that the withdrawal of the British Army from India will commence immediately after the transfer of power, will be carried out as quickly as shipping permits and is expected to be completed by about the end of 1947.

2. HMG have also agreed with the conception that British Forces in India, after 15 August, should have no operational function whatever, and that they will therefore not be available to be called upon for such purposes as internal security, use on the North-West Frontier or, of course, use in the States. They would be regarded as continuing their training here until transport arrives to take them away.

3. HMG have, however, represented that it may be of advantage to all parties concerned to retain, for the time being, the RAF transport squadrons and their maintenance organisation at present in the Karachi-Mauripur area. These squadrons might, it is suggested, be of great use to both Dominions in maintaining internal military communications, and assisting in the training of Pakistan and India Dakota squadrons. They could also be available in a non-operational role in the event of serious internal unrest, bearing in mind that both Dominions will themselves only be able to provide similar facilities to a limited degree for some time to come. The presence of these RAF units would also assist both Governments in providing air transport facilities and maintenance of essential routes in and through India. One of these squadrons would be moved from Karachi to Dominion of India territory.

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4. The question of whether or not these transport squadrons should stay on for a period will be considered at the next Partition Council meeting. If they do remain, they would be under the general control of the Supreme Commander through the Air Officer Commanding in Chief.

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EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE PARTITION COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 17 JULY 1947

Withdrawal of British Forces

The Council considered the note by His Excellency circulated to all members.

Points in discussion were:

a. Paragraph 1 of note. The first detachment of British troops, Army and RAF, approximately 1,500 strong, to leave India, would sail in s.s. Georgic from Bombay on 17 August. His Excellency announced his intention of going down to say goodbye particularly to emphasise to the public that the withdrawal of British troops had begun.

b. Paragraph 2 of note. In order that there should be no embarrassment to either of the Dominions, it should be made perfectly clear that British troops temporarily remaining in India after 15 August will have no operational responsibility whatever. They could usefully employ their time in training for war, which was their proper role.

c. Paragraph 3 of note. The value of these squadrons in their normal peace-time duties, and particularly for assisting in the training of RAF squadrons now converting to a medium transport role, was emphasised.

As regards their employment in the event of serious internal unrest, it was stressed that they could not be used in any sort of operational role. Suitable tasks would be the maintenance of communications, flying out refugees, transport of doctors and nurses, and so forth. The Commander-in-Chief undertook to draft instructions governing their use, which would have to be referred to His Majesty's Government as the note circulated was in the exact terms of the offer made by them. His Excellency, commenting on the immense value of transport aircraft, hoped that the appropriate Service Sub-Committee would recommend a proportion of transport aircraft in the air forces of both the two new Dominions.

The Council agreed

1. to accept HMG's offer to retain two RAF Transport Squadrons, provisionally up to 31 March 1948;
2. that they should operate under the control of the Joint Defence Council;
3. that the Squadrons would be located at Palam and Mauripur.

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THE VICEROY'S MEETING WITH NEHRU, PATEL AND KRIPALANI[1] AT 10 A.M., TUESDAY, 10 JUNE 1947

AGENDA

ITEM 1. BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

If there were any hope of the interested parties in the Punjab and Bengal arriving at an agreement among themselves as to the partition of their respective provinces, or even of restricting the disputed areas to the minimum, a tremendous source of trouble would be removed. Is there any hope of this? If not, the following suggestions are put forward as a basis of discussion:

a. Composition

The following possibilities are for consideration

i that each commission should consist of three persons obtained through UNO, plus three expert assessors from each side of each partitioned province;

ii that each commission should consist of an independent chairman and four other persons of whom two would be nominated by the Congress and two by the Muslim League;

iii that each commission should consist of three senior judges whose names would be previously agreed between the Congress and the Muslim League.

b. Terms of Reference

It is suggested that the Congress and the Muslim League should each propose the terms of reference of both Boundary Commissions to the Viceroy, who would then do his best to bring their proposals into a form acceptable to both.

ITEM 2. ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

It was agreed by the seven Indian leaders at the last meeting that an Arbitral Tribunal should be set up at the same time as the Partition Council, and that it should consist of three members, all men of great judicial experience. It is now suggested that the chairman of this body should be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The names of the other two

[1] Joined Gandhi in 1917; Congress General Secretary, 1934-46; party President, 1946-47; member of CA, 1946-50; resigned from Congress in 1951; MP intermittently, 1952-70

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members might be a matter for discussion between the Indian leaders—or recommendations for these names might be left to the committee of members of the Interim Government which is being set up forthwith.

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
11 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I enclose a copy of the agenda for the Viceroy's meeting with the seven Indian leaders on Friday, 13 June, at 10 a.m.

I will send Annexes 'A' and 'B' as soon as they are ready.

Yours sincerely,
Eric. C. Mieville

Sardar Patel

ENCLOSURE

THE VICEROY'S MEETING WITH THE SEVEN INDIAN LEADERS AT 10 A.M. ON FRIDAY, 13 JUNE 1947

AGENDA

ITEM 1. THE STATES

Sir Conrad Corfield[1] will be present for the discussion on this subject.

Notes are attached at Annexes 'A' and 'B' (to follow).

ITEM 2. THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS

a. Composition

A note is attached as Annex 'C'.

A draft telegram, for discussion, is attached as Annex 'D'.

b. Terms of Reference

It is hoped that the views of the major parties will have been received before the meeting, and that the Viceroy will be able to circulate, at the meeting, a draft acceptable to all.

ITEM 3. THE ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

A note is attached as Annex 'E'.

ITEM 4. THE REFERENDUM IN THE NWFP

A note is attached as Annex 'F'.

[1] Political Adviser to Lord Mountbatten; reported to have advised princes to declare themselves independent on eve of country's freedom

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THE VICEROY'S MEETING WITH THE SEVEN INDIAN LEADERS AT 10 A.M. ON FRIDAY, 13 JUNE 1947

1. With reference to the agenda for this meeting (already issued), attached hereto are Annexes 'A' and 'B' to be considered under Item 1

THE STATES

2. These Annexes are entitled:

'A' Machinery for dealing with questions of common concern between States and the Successor Governments in British India

'B' Formula for interim arrangements on a standstill basis

3. Attached as Appendix I to annex B is a Draft Standstill Formula

4. Also attached, and for consideration under Item I of the agenda but *not* mentioned on that agenda, is Annex 'G', a note entitled "Disposal of Crown Representative's Records."

ENCLOSURE

ANNEX 'A'

MACHINERY FOR DEALING WITH QUESTIONS OF COMMON CONCERN BETWEEN STATES AND THE SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENTS IN BRITISH INDIA

1. The Cabinet Mission memorandum of 12 May 1946 stated that 'the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.'

2. As soon therefore as fully self-governing Governments are set up in British India, paramountcy will lapse, the Crown Representative will disappear and the machinery which he controls (Political Department, Residents and Political Agents) will disappear with him.

3. Paramountcy functions, which are the main duty and preoccupation of this machinery, can no longer be exercised. This machinery however has been used as a convenient means of dealing with certain matters of common concern, and for this purpose alternative machinery is required.

4. This alternative machinery has already begun to function by means of direct correspondence between the appropriate departments of the Central

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Government and States, especially the Food Department. The appropriate department for any State which may opt for independence would presumably be the External Affairs Department of the Government concerned.

5. The memo. of 12 May stated that the alternative machinery 'would have to be provided either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments or failing this entering into particular political arrangements with it or them.'

6. Direct correspondence is a normal federal relationship. It has worked perfectly smoothly with the Food Department for a number of years and with other departments who have started it. It is the procedure which States are likely to accept. The only problem arises out of the large number of States which require to be addressed. This problem is being solved by the grouping of States, e.g. the Eastern States which have established a joint agency to handle direct correspondence with 39 States. Similar steps are being taken elsewhere.

7. If the successor Governments set up Political (or States) Departments of their own, they will raise grave suspicion in States and as no machinery will work without the States' co-operation, this would be an unwise step, though the question is of course one for the successor Governments to decide.

8. If the existing machinery of the Crown Representative was handed over to the successor Governments for this purpose, the States would interpret this action as a transfer of paramountcy in practice. This interpretation would have less justification if the appropriate departments of the successor Governments took over the staff at present employed by the Crown Representative in order to deal with direct correspondence together with the relevant records, provided no Political Officers were taken over, though of course there is nothing to prevent these departments from employing Political Officers on new contracts for this purpose after the lapse of paramountcy.

9. The proposal therefore is that the State should be given the option of

a. dealing with local representatives of the successor Governments or

b. appointing their own representatives to the headquarters of the successor Governments.

Whatever the choice, these representatives should, under a federal system, deal with the appropriate department of the successor Government with which it is likely to have matters of common concern.

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ANNEX 'B'

FORMULA FOR INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS ON A STANDSTILL BASIS

1. The Cabinet Mission memorandum of 12 May (para 4) stated that 'in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field' it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the successor Government or Governments, that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to those matters [of] common concern should continue until new agreements are completed. It was added that 'in this matter the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can should it be so desired.'

2. A draft agreement has been produced, which may serve as a basis for negotiation, and it is proposed to circulate this to States for their comments. The views of the successor authorities upon it are also required. A forum for arriving at an agreed formula by direct negotiation must then be established if any agreement is to be reached in time.

3. It has to be borne in mind that these interim arrangements cannot all be on a purely standstill basis. With the lapse of paramountcy 'all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the State.' This means that all jurisdiction in State territory (e.g. over railways, cantonments and other administered areas) will revert to the States. Interim arrangements can therefore only be made on this basis. This is recognised by the provisions of proviso (c) of Article 3 of the draft standstill agreement.

4. The Political Department have been trying for some months to secure the co-operation of the Central Government departments concerned for negotiating interim arrangements with the States concerned in this sphere, so that the automatic reversion of jurisdiction to States on the lapse of paramountcy will not endanger all-India defence and communications. This co-operation has not yet been secured though much inter-departmental work has already been done to clarify the issues.

5. Where defence and communications are not involved the reversion of jurisdiction offers few problems. One however is the disposal of property. Lists of property belonging to the Crown Representative have been prepared and are being forwarded to the Works, Mines and Power Department. But the reversion of jurisdiction does not affect rights of property, and detailed consideration of the disposal of property can be dealt with by the successor

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Governments after the lapse of paramountcy, provided that all property belonging to a State is handed back and direct negotiations between successor Governments and the States concerned are initiated forthwith regarding other property, so that suitable arrangements are made for looking after the property and its contents when the agents of the Crown Representative will have disappeared.

6. Even if States decline to entertain local representatives of the successor Governments, it is possible that States would agree to some clerical staff of the Crown Representative staying on in the employ of the successor Governments for a period in order to assist in the disposal of assets and settlement of liabilities. If desired, the Political Department will be glad to suggest this course to States, since the skeleton staff thus retained for a period would be useful for dealing with the leave and pension claims of clerical and inferior staff, the settlement of which during the next two months presents a formidable problem.

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APPENDIX I TO ANNEX 'B'

Draft Standstill Formula

Whereas it is expedient that, without prejudice to the rights of any State or of the successor Governments in British India, existing administrative arrangements of being mutually beneficial to the people of the States and to the people of the rest of India should continue in force while negotiations for new or modified arrangements are in progress between the authorities respectively concerned:

Now, therefore, the parties jointly and severally agree that:

1. No State shall be liable to pay any cash contribution falling due for payment after 15-8-47 otherwise than on terms to be mutually agreed upon between the parties to this agreement.
   Note: In this Article the term 'cash contribution' has the meaning assigned to it in sub-section (5) of Section 147 of the Government of India Act, 1935.
2. For a period of two years, but subject to denouncement by any party concerned on giving six months' notice and subject always to earlier modification by mutual agreement of the parties concerned, a State shall be entitled to continuance of any privilege or immunity which it enjoyed immediately prior to 15-8-47 provided that it continues duly to fulfil all conditions or reciprocal obligations attached to each such privilege or immunity.

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Note: In this Article the term "privilege or immunity" has the meaning assigned to it in sub-section (6) of Section 147 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

3. In respect of all matters of common concern relating to the subjects specified in the attached schedule existing administrative arrangements shall continue in force for a period of two years from 15-8-1947 and shall not be modified otherwise than by mutual agreement of the parties concerned; provided that

a. nothing contained in this agreement, and nothing done in pursuance thereof, shall be deemed to create in favour of any party any right continuing after the date of termination of the agreement;

b. nothing contained in this agreement, and nothing done in pursuance thereof, shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this agreement, would have been exercisable by any party to it, and

c. nothing contained in this agreement shall affect the liberty of any party to it to exercise within its own territory all rights of jurisdiction which it may be entitled to exercise whether by reversion on the lapse of paramountcy or by transfer from His Majesty's Government or otherwise.

SCHEDULE

Air communications
Arms and equipment
Control of commodities
Currency and coinage
Customs
Import and export control
Irrigation and electric power
Motor vehicles
National highways
Opium
Posts, telegraphs and telephones
Railways
Salt
Taxation
Wireless
Any other matters of common concern

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CONCLUSIONS

It was agreed

I. that legal opinion, if possible that of the Chief Justice, should be obtained on the issue whether it was the Governor-General or the Governor-General-in-Council who was the responsible authority for making the necessary arrangements and issuing the various orders with regard to partition;

II. that a committee should be set up forthwith consisting of two representatives of the Congress and two of the Muslim League, all of whom should be members of the Interim Government, and with His Excellency as Chairman; that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should send in to His Excellency, as soon as possible, the names of the representatives of the Congress and of the Muslim League, respectively, to be appointed to this committee; that the duty of this committee should be to make an examination of the steps to be taken to set up machinery, including the formation of sub-committees, for carrying out partition; and that this should be a fact-finding body, whose duty it will be to make proposals and not to reach final decisions;

III. that the present Cabinet Secretariat should undertake the immediate action which was necessary in regard to the provision of secretariat accommodation; the securing of clerical staff, typewriters, stationery etc.; and consultation with departments so that personnel for expert committees were put on special duty and given facilities at once;

IV. that, as soon as a decision on partition was known (i. e. immediately any one province had declared in favour of joining a new and separate Constituent Assembly), a Partition Council should be set up; that it should consist of two of the top-ranking leaders of the Congress and two of Muslim League; that His Excellency should be chairman of it, with no arbitral functions; and that the recommendations of the committee in (ii) above should be subject to acceptance by the Partition Council;

V. that an Arbitral Tribunal should be set up at the same time as the Partition Council; that it should consist of three members, all men of great judicial experience; that the composition of it should be settled by the Partition Committee; that Sardar Baldev Singh should consult the other Sikh leaders about the composition of the Arbitral Tribunal and inform the Partition Committee of their views; and that the services of the Arbitral Tribunal should be offered to the provinces which were to be partitioned;

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vi. that Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should inform the Viceroy as soon as possible to whom he should address himself in calling for names for the two Governments which would be set up (if there was partition) when Dominion Status was granted;

vii. that there was no objection to the Governor of the Punjab issuing preliminary invitations now to the members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly to meet to decide the issue of the partition of that province.

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Government House
Lahore
16 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

The main event of the fortnight was the announcement of 3 June. It is now possible to give a fairly accurate appreciation of the reactions to it.

2. There is a complete absence of enthusiasm for the partition plan—nobody seems pleased, and nobody seems to want to get on with the job. The plan has had no discernible effect on communal relations, which remain as they were. Nor is there any sign of special anxiety for, or hostility to, Dominion Status.

On the other hand, the political parties here acquiesce in the plan, but (as is usual in matters of this kind in India) for widely different reasons. Muslim Leaguers think it a master-stroke by Jinnah, who has secured the recognition of Pakistan and will in the end get them all they want. Congressmen think it a master-stroke by Patel, who, having pushed the Muslims into a corner (or into two corners) will be able to destroy them before very long. Patel's private conversation is reported to be menacing—Barq who was a Minister in the Coalition Government told me he had heard him say that Hindustan could quickly make an end of its Muslim inhabitants if Pakistan did not behave. This may be quite untrue, but the story represents the attitude the Hindus hope and the Muslims fear Patel will take up. The Sikhs pin their faith on the Boundary Commission; they are now said to be fairly well organised in the districts they think critical, and it is quite likely that they will refuse to go very far with partition until they know where the boundary will run. Their latest announcement demands exchanges of property and transfer of population.

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Intelligent people not deeply committed to the political parties are far from happy. They do not believe that partition will settle anything, and the disturbance it will cause will make them at best uncomfortable and at worst insecure. Land values are said to be falling in the colony districts, and there are many stories about the "flight of capital" from Lahore.

Generally, the atmosphere of fatalism continues. It was ordained from the first that the communities should massacre and loot one another; nothing can alter this; unity means ruin of one kind, and partition ruin of another; if there is to be ruin anyway, partition seems the simpler and perhaps the less bloody form of it.

3. The effect of the announcement on the Services is still not quite certain.

We have asked all members—British and Indian—of the Secretary of State's Services whether they are willing to serve on and, if so, whether their willingness extends to service in a United Punjab, in a Western Punjab, in an Eastern Punjab or in all or any two of them. Replies are due by 25 June.

It seems doubtful if many of the British officials will wish to stay. By all accounts they are not impressed by the Dominion Status idea, and they have no confidence at all in the Central or the Provincial politicians. The average British official does not in fact believe that the new Government will be fit to serve under —in his opinion they are likely to be communal and unfair, their administrative standards will be low, and their financial stability will at best be questionable. This goes apparently not only for British members of the ICS and IP, but for the majority of doctors and engineers. The General Manager of the North Western Railway tells me that feeling is much the same among his British personnel. I hope that the replies to our questionnaire may be less uncompromising than I now expect, but I fear that the political parties will have to launch the new Governments without much British assistance, even if they want it. The Irrigation Department may suffer almost more than any other.

Indian members of the all-India Services are worried. The Muslims are, I understand, already parcelling out the more lucrative Pakistan appointments among themselves. The non-Muslims do not think they will be safe in the Western Punjab, and hope to be accommodated in Hindustan.

The Provincial Services (composed almost entirely of Punjabis with a sprinkling of Anglo-Indians) are in much the same case. It is assumed that there will be a communal split—Muslims to the

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West, others to the East—and I have no doubt that the scramble for appointments will soon begin.

The great mass of the subordinate Services—including anything from an inspector of police recruited provincially to a constable or office messenger recruited on a district basis—can in my opinion be dealt with only by gradual adjustments, but they will not escape the general ferment.

So far as the Services are concerned, we are going through a very difficult time, with some men yearning to leave India, others trying to please new masters, and others again upset and apprehensive. The old administrative machine is rapidly falling to pieces.

4. I have kept Your Excellency informed of what I have done to get the partition proceedings started. The politicians do not yet realise what they are in for, and my difficulty will be to get them to take the business seriously and to undertake the really arduous work which it involves. Mamdot[1]'s sole contribution to date has been his objection to the official committees—I am told that he and his colleagues are still too busy dividing the prospective spoils to do anything else. He returned from Delhi on 14 June, and I had understood from Your Excellency that he was to come and see me on his arrival. One of his retainers telephoned to my secretary on the 14th afternoon to say that he had arrived, but when my secretary asked if he wished to see me, the reply was "no." I have left it at that over the week-end, but shall have to shake up all the leaders, including Mamdot, during the next few days. I am seeing Mamdot, [Bhim Sen] Sachar[2] and Swaran Singh[3] tomorrow 16th at 10 a.m. Mamdot has launched a local Press campaign against me which the others will not like! They will think it an attack on them.

The troubles I foresee are of three kinds. In the first place, we have no outstanding political leader here and the members of the Partition Committee will almost certainly lose themselves in recriminations and hair-splitting. We are very short of magnanimity

[1] Landlord of Punjab; member, Working Committee of All India Muslim League and President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, 1945-47; Chief Minister of West Punjab after partition

[2] Joined non-co-operation movement in 1921; Secretary, Punjab PCC, 1912; MLA (Punjab), 1939-45; Finance Minister, Punjab, 1946-49; Chief Minister, 1952-56; Governor of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh; High Commissioner in Ceylon

[3] Member of Partition Committee in Punjab; Home Minister, Punjab, 1947-49; Minister of Capital Project and Electricity, Punjab, April-May 1952; Member, Union Cabinet since May 1952, Minister of External Affairs since June 1970

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in the Punjab. Secondly, we have not really got the staff to present the material properly in the time available. There is no easy remedy, but I am getting back Askwith, a senior member of the ICS who was on leave preparatory to retirement and volunteered to return in any capacity. Askwith knows the Punjab background well, and as he has not served here since 1940 can hardly be suspected, even in these days, of favouring one side or the other. He was a first-class district officer, and is also very good at secretariat work. I am told that the Home Member did not like Askwith's return, but the offer was too good to miss. Thirdly, until the boundary is settled, final decisions can hardly be taken e.g. as to the exact financial adjustments to be made, and the committee may decline to proceed by settling principles and applying them later.

I believe that the job could be put through quite quickly if the parties would concentrate on the minimum essentials for the establishments of two provinces with two separate Governments. But if the parties insist upon dividing, e.g. the Irrigation and Electricity Departments with all their assets and stores, and all financial adjustments complete to the last anna, before the two separate Governments are established, the process may take months or even years.

I am not sure what line Your Excellency intends to take if on 15 August the Partition Committees in the Punjab and/or Bengal are still hard at it with no results in sight. Here in the Punjab the boundary is vital, and until that is settled it is difficult to see how the two new provinces or for that matter the two new dominions can be created—unless of course the Punjab is kept as a kind of no-man's land under Central control.

5. I have mentioned that the announcement of 3 June had no appreciable effect on communal relations. Lahore and Amritsar have both been seriously disturbed through the fortnight —the main incidents being stabbing, cases of incendiarism, and bomb explosions. Lahore has been slightly better during the last day or two; but Amritsar is a constant trouble and the periodical improvements there are seldom maintained.

Gurgaon—about which I have had some separate correspondence with Your Excellency—has been largely out of hand. Our resources there have been inadequate, and we have so many commitments that it is quite impossible to make police and troops available in the numbers required to suppress quickly what amounts to a primitive war. The situation has, however, improved

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in the last few days, and I hope that this time the improvement will be maintained. I would fly over to Gurgaon again if I were not so busy here with the preparations for partition. Eustace, the Commissioner for Ambala, is at Gurgaon and is in close touch with the Army.

Elsewhere, largely I think because of troops in all districts likely to give trouble, the fortnight has been fairly quiet. Gujranwala kad some communal stabbings; and bomb explosions, suspicious fires and minor incidents are so common that one hardly notices them in the district reports.

Our liaison with Northern Command is excellent. [General] Messervy established a Tactical Headquarters at Government House, Lahore, for about a week from 4 June—a very useful experiment which can be repeated if necessary.

6. It is now certain that the Rabi crop of wheat and gram was below normal. Short canal supplies for wheat sowings in the colony districts, and rust, especially in some of the same districts, probably caused the damage to the wheat. Gram is always a little tricky—the total yield depends on conditions in certain dry districts like Hissar—and it has done badly this year. Wheat procurement is going fairly well, and in the absence of Central insurance we have had to provide rough and ready cover for the dealers against riot losses. I noticed with amusement that the Central Government selected the time of the arrival of new wheat in the markets for their annual howl about starvation in August. They have done this every year since food became scarce, and, since the personnel of the Central Government has changed a good deal and more than once since 1942, I can only suppose that there is something in the New Delhi air that makes them do it. If you want people to sell you something now, it is not good business to tell them how desperate you will be for that something in a few weeks time.

Yours sincerely,
E. M. Jenkins
[Governor of Punjab]

H. E. the Viceroy

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New Delhi
1 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing a copy of the report of the speech of the Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar in Abbottabad as reported in the Dawn of 28 April 1947.

2. I have had occasions in the past to point out to Lord Wavell some instances in which the League Members of the Interim Government have directly attacked Provincial Governments which were not of their persuasion. Lord Wavell apparently agreed with my view, since he wrote to me in reply that he had spoken to the Finance Member about it.

3. My attitude, which I maintain reflects the correct constitutional view, is contained in my letter to Lord Wavell on the subject, a copy of which I enclose for your ready reference. The repetition of these attacks merely goes to show that my honourable colleagues do not intend to profit by experience. The matter is one which, in my judgment, cannot be ignored, and I would be grateful if you would kindly see that either constitutional propriety is observed by the League Members or, if the League Members are unable to restrain themselves, they follow the only honourable constitutional course of resigning their office from the Interim Government.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM DAWN DATED 28 APRIL 1947

Addressing a meeting at the Idgah, where the procession had terminated, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar said: 'The root cause of all the trouble in the Frontier Province is the unnatural Congress Government foisted upon 95 per cent Muslim population. The present Government has become intolerable. This yoke has to be cast away and it must be cast away. . . .

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'. . . If our opponents even now hesitate to concede our just demand we have got to take it whatever the hardships and consequences we may have to bear.'

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Viceroy's Camp
(Simla) India
6 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 1 May about Nishtar's speech in Abbottabad as reported in Dawn of 28 April.

2. I will speak to Nishtar when I next see him and ask him if he made these remarks. If he did I will point out how undesirable and unseemly it is for a Member of the Cabinet to transgress the proper limits of political speeches. But I am not sure that Dawn's report can be taken as quite reliable, as, on enquiry, I am informed that no Pathans live anywhere near Abbottabad; and since this statement is wrong, others may be also.

3. Thank you, however, for bringing this to my notice.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
10 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Perhaps you have already received a copy of the resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Council. In case you have not, I am sending a copy for your ready reference.

2. You will notice that the resolution is contradictory and there is studied evasion of straightforward acceptance. At one place, it says it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition. At another place, it says it accepts the fundamental principles of the Plan of 3 June as a compromise. You have to judge the resolution in the light of the speeches at the Council meeting. I have been able to

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obtain a copy of the proceedings through a source of the Intelligence Bureau. I am enclosing a copy of the same. From these proceedings it is quite clear that the Pakistan of the statement of 3 June would merely be a springboard for action against Hindustan, and that there is no possibility of a settlement on this basis. The position is such as is bound to fill us with grave apprehension.

3. In these circumstances, unless Mr. Jinnah issues a clear statement accepting the Plan, there are bound to be difficulties at the AICC meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE AT ITS MEETING HELD AT DELHI ON MONDAY, 9 JUNE 1947

The Council of the All India Muslim League after full deliberation and consideration of the statement of His Majesty's Government dated 3 June 1947 laying down the plan of transfer of power to the peoples of India, notes with satisfaction that the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16 May 1946 will not be proceeded with and has been abandoned. The only course open is the partition of India as now proposed in HMG's statement of 3 June.

The Council of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that the only solution of India's problem is to divide India into two—Pakistan and Hindustan. On that basis, the Council has given its most earnest attention and consideration to HMG's statement. The Council is of the opinion that although it cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab or give its consent to such partition, it has to consider HMG's Plan for the transfer of power as a whole.

The Council, therefore, hereby resolves to give full authority to the President of the All India Muslim League, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise and to leave it to him with full authority to work out all the details of the Plan in an equitable and just manner with regard to carrying out the complete division of India on the basis and fundamental principles embodied in HMG's Plan, including Defence, Finance, Communications.

The Council further empowers the President, Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, to take all steps and decisions which may be necessary in connection with and relating to the Plan.

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New Delhi
17 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will recall our previous correspondence regarding the omission to accept the announcement of 3 June in a straightforward manner on the part of the League. The promised statement by Mr. Jinnah has not yet come out. In the meantime, the Dawn has been indulging in editorials which are hardly indicative of the peaceful intentions of which we have heard so much in private, or consistent with the impression gained by you that the League has accepted the announcement as a settlement and has no further claims to make. The articles which it has been publishing are similarly open to objection. As a sample, I would invite your attention to two news-items [see enclosures] which have appeared in today's Dawn. One relates to Moplahs' demand for a separate homeland and the other demands the dissolution of the Assam Ministry and the recall of the Governor. You will note that both the news-items have been sent by Dawn's own reporter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE I

MOPLAHS' DEMAND FOR SEPARATE HOMELAND IS BASED ON FACTS—MR. ISMAIL[1]

By Dawn Staff Reporter

New Delhi, Monday—"The Moplahs are racially different from the Hindus of Madras, being mostly the descendants of Arabs," said Mr. Mohd. Ismail, MLA, President, Madras Provincial Muslim League, explaining the resolution passed by the Madras Provincial Muslim League about Moplastan on 27 May.

"Their religion, culture, civilisation, aspirations and outlook of life," he continued, "are different from those of the other inhabitants of the west

[1] MLA; President, Indian Union Muslim League after Independence

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coast of Madras. The Moplahs form the majority of the population in a considerable area of the west coast. The islands lying off the coast are populated exclusively by Moplahs.

"The area in question is about 3,000 square miles in extent with a total population of 15 lakhs of whom about 9 lakhs are Moplahs.

"In the matter of population and area Moplastan is bigger than Cochin, a neighbouring Indian State, and larger than many other Indian States; and is considerably larger than European States like Albania.

"In the new orientation of the country and the province, the Muslims want that Moplastan must be treated as a separate entity. The Moplahs have been demanding it for some time now. There is no doubt that they are on a firm and just ground in this demand of theirs and the Muslims of the province unequivocally support the demand."

A Moplastan convention is going to be held at Manjeri which is in the heart of Moplastan and necessary arrangements are afoot for making the convention a success.

ENCLOSURE II

IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION OF ASSAM MINISTRY DEMANDED

By Dawn Shillong Correspondent

Shillong, Monday—"Immediate dissolution of the Congress Ministry in Assam in the interest of a free and fair referendum proposed to be held in Sylhet district to determine whether it should be amalgamated with Eastern Pakistan as envisaged in HMG's Plan of 3 June" has been demanded by Mr. M. H. Siddikie, Secretary, Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Assam, in a statement to the Press on Sunday.

"Along with the Ministry," he added, "the Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari, must also go."

"The question of immediate release of political prisoners, now that the civil disobedience movement is no more," Mr. Siddikie said, "has greatly agitated the Muslims of Assam. Taking advantage of the forced absence of our leaders, arch Muslim baiters like Mr. Basanta Das[1] have set out on a whirlwind tour of Sylhet at the expense of public money for propagation of the caste Hindu view and this is being done under the very nose of Governor Hydari who has not kept it a secret that his sympathies are with the Hindu Congress."

[1] Had long unbroken spell as member, Central Assembly, made mark as Chairman, Public Accounts Committee

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"What's the reason," he asked, "for keeping leaders still under duress particularly when a referendum knocks at the door? The reason appears to be that the enemies of Muslims are afraid of the tremendous popularity that our leaders enjoy among the people. They are afraid that once they are released all machinations and manoeuvres of the caste Hindu junta would miserably fail and ramshackle the structure of the house of Basanta Das which will fall into pieces."

Continuing, Mr. Siddikie said that the Muslims of Sylhet will not grudge Mr. Das and his friends' political harakiri they have preferred to commit by [alienating] Muslims still further. He will never be able to keep Muslim Sylhet under caste Hindu domination. Instead of trying to create a rift in the ranks of the Muslims, Mr. Basanta Das will be well advised to keep his hand off from the land of Hazrat Shah Jalal.

"Muslims need hardly be told," Mr. Siddikie added, "what Congress domination means to them. Fifteen months of Congress rule that has brought death and destruction to thousands of innocent Muslims is still fresh in the public mind. The Muslims and Scheduled Castes are determined to wipe out the rule of tyranny at least from the district of Sylhet and other non-Hindu districts."

In conclusion Mr. Siddikie appealed to the Viceroy to dissolve the present Ministry and recall Sir Akbar Hydari, else it was feared that the Muslims will be denied their legitimate role in the impending referendum.

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Viceroy's Camp
India
18 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 17 June. As you know I always emphasise the importance of trying to prevent embarrassing articles and news-items appearing in the Press and I will continue to do so.

On Tuesday when I arranged for Mr. Jinnah to meet Mr. Gandhi they spoke for twenty minutes on this question.

As regards the promised statement by Mr. Jinnah, you will see from my letter of 12 June to Mr. Kripalani that I have arranged for a joint statement to be signed by Mr. Jinnah and the authorised representative of the Congress.

I have asked Lord Ismay to follow this up while I am in Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
13 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have received from Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Congress member of the Partition Council of the Punjab, regarding communications in the Punjab. I have already referred separately to the danger of sabotage in the telephone system etc. This letter corroborates the apprehensions that I entertained. I hope it will be possible to do something to prevent the dangers mentioned therein.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM LETTER FROM GOPICHAND BHARGAVA, LAHORE, TO SARDAR PATEL, NEW DELHI, DATED 12 JUNE 1947

. . . The possibility of sabotage in the case of telephone exchanges is by no means unreal. Infliction of damage is comparatively easy, repairs both difficult and lengthy, replacement almost impossible. Cutting telegraphs lines is also a real danger. The possibility of interfering with railway tracks cannot be ruled out. I would therefore suggest that the Muslim staff in the telephone and telegraph exchanges in the East Punjab be transferred and they be replaced by non-Muslims. This transfer ought to be made on or before 1 August at the latest.

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
15 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 13 July about the danger of sabotage of communications.

I suggest that the question of transferring staff should be discussed in the Partition Council and that you should raise it there.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member

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New Delhi
6 August 1947

My dear Matthai,

I am enclosing a copy of the instructions which are reported to have been issued by the Deputy Conservator of the Calcutta Port Trust regarding flag hoisting on 15 August. The instructions conflict with those issued by Government and I hope it will be possible for you to instruct the Chairman of the Port Trust to revise the instructions in accordance with Government orders.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Member for Transport, Communications and Railways
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

The Hon'ble Member-in-Charge
Transport Department
Government of India
New Delhi

Sir,

Flag Hoisting in Calcutta Port on 15 August

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the Calcutta Port Commissioners' Deputy Conservator's circular dated 28 July 1947 from which it will be seen that departmental orders have been issued to hoist the Union Jack and the National Flag side by side on 15 August 1947. On enquiry it is ascertained that in other Government buildings in Calcutta only the National Flag will be hoisted on the day. I have therefore been requested by the superior subordinate staff of the Calcutta Port Commissioners to approach you for kindly issuing suitable instructions to the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Commissioners so that the National Flag only is hoisted on all Commissioners' buildings, vessels etc. on and from 15 August 1947.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your most obedient servant
B. K. Das Gupta
Secretary
Calcutta Port Commissioners'
Superior Subordinate Staff Association
15, Strand Road, Calcutta

4 August 1947

Copy to:

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Member, Home Department, for favour of taking suitable steps so as to stop continuance of hoisting the Union Jack on Calcutta Port Commissioners' buildings etc.

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New Delhi
7 August 1947

My dear Sardar,

Your letter of 6 August regarding hoisting of flag at the Calcutta Port Commissioner's head office. I enclose a copy of

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a letter sent out by the Secretary, Transport Department, yesterday to the Chairman of the Calcutta Port Commissioners, copy to the Chairman at Bombay and Madras and to the Administrative Officer, Cochin Harbour. Besides sending out this letter, the Secretary, Transport Department, also spoke to the Secretary, WM&P Department, and suggested to him the advisability of issuing a Press note regarding the flying of flags on all public buildings on and from 15 August.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

D.O. of 6 August 1947 from Mr. D. D. Warren, Secretary, Transport Department, to Mr. N. M. Ayyar, Chairman, Calcutta Port Commissioners; copy to Messrs. F. M. Surveyor (Chairman, Bombay Port Trust), M. S. Venkatraman (Chairman, Madras Port Trust) and A. G. Milne (Administrative Officer, Cochin Harbour).

A complaint has been made that instructions have been issued that, from 15 August, the Union Jack and the National Flag are to be hoisted side by side on the yard arms of the flag staff at the Calcutta Port Commissioners' head office. I am to point out that, in Delhi, on and from 15 August the National Flag only, without the Union Jack, is to be flown on all public buildings, and I am to request that the Port Commissioners may follow the same procedure.

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28 February 1947

My dear Sir Stafford,

The last I heard from you was when I received your letter of 21 December, 1946. Since then events have happened in quick succession leading up to the final declaration of HMG fixing a date for complete withdrawal from India.

During this interval, we have passed through a period of suspense, anxiety and terrible difficulties. On your side also you had to face serious troubles.

You have seen Pandit Nehru's statement, which represents our reactions to the declaration. There are some obscure points

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of very great importance which require elucidation, but that can be done at the appropriate time. The real problem, however, which requires early solution, is the present arrangement of the Interim Government. It has to be solved soon if the declared policy is to be implemented properly.

I hope that the new Viceroy will come with full instructions, so that the process of transference of power may proceed smoothly and rapidly.

I must congratulate you and your colleagues for the bold and courageous step that you have taken, and I have no doubt that, if the policy is implemented in its proper spirit, it will result in establishing permanent friendship between our two countries.

You had once written to me to send Sudhir[1] [Ghosh] there if possible in some official capacity. He is now coming there as Public Relations Officer. He will need help and guidance in the initial stages as he is new to the type of work he has to do.

Kindly give our love to Lady Cripps.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps

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Board of Trade
Mill Bank
London, S.W.I.
4 March 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

How nice of you to send a letter by Sudhir, with whom I had a long talk last night. Both Isobel and I were delighted to hear from you and to know that you are getting along well so far as your personal health is concerned. You must take care of yourself because you are terribly precious to India just now in these last final months.

I have felt very much for all your difficulties and anxieties and we have hurried forwards to come to a decision as quickly

[1] Unofficial emissary of Congress in Britain before Independence; later appointed Public Relations Officer at India House for a brief period

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as other urgent matters allowed. With [Herbert] Morrison[1] away ill, Aneurin Bevan[2] with pneumonia, Ellen Wilkinson[3] dead and [Ernest] Bevin[4] off for a long spell at Moscow, we are a depleted team and we have more work than ever.

The bitter cold still persists and it's just started snowing again! I am afraid Sudhir and his wife will feel it very much.

I believe with patience we shall get through this transition without any major trouble, but we must be patient. I am sure you will like Mountbatten enormously as I do and respect him. He is very advanced in his views as you will find and you will like him too.

God bless you and keep you fit and strong for your great job. All our love,

Yours sincerely,
Stafford Cripps

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
1 February 1947

From Governor-General (Home Department)

To Secretary of State for India London

MR. HENDERSON[5] FROM SARDAR PATEL. THERE IS A STRING OF QUESTIONS IN THE LEGISLATURE REGARDING TERMINATION OF SECRETARY OF STATE'S SERVICES. PRESSURE IS ALSO BEING BROUGHT TO BEAR ON ME BOTH FROM PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT SERVANTS FOR VERY EARLY CLARIFICATION ON THIS MATTER. IN VIEW OF YOUR

1 MP (Lab.) for Hockney South from 1935; Home Secretary and later Foreign Secretary in Attlee Cabinet

2 British Labour politician; in World War II was frequently a "one-man opposition" against Churchill; Minister of Health in Labour Government, 1945; Minister of Labour, 1951

3 Labour politician and active campaigner for women's suffrage in Britain; elected MP, 1924 and 1935; Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Home Security, 1940; Minister of Education, 1945

4 MP (Lab.) for Wandsworth Central; Foreign Secretary in first Attlee Government

5 Arthur Henderson; Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma in Attlee Government

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LAST LETTER I HAVE NOT GIVEN ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT AS I ORIGINALLY PROPOSED. I WOULD THEREFORE BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD LET ME KNOW WHEN WE CAN EXPECT FURTHER COMMUNICATION.

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TELEGRAM

From Secretary of State for India London
To Governor-General (Home Department)
New Delhi

5 February 1947

SARDAR PATEL FROM MR. HENDERSON. YOUR TELEGRAM 1 FEBRUARY. THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE. YOUR DIFFICULTY IN WITHHOLDING STATEMENT IS FULLY APPRECIATED HERE AND NO TIME IS BEING LOST. URGENT CONSIDERATION IS IN PROGRESS AND I WILL TELEGRAPH AGAIN AT WEEK-END. I TRUST YOU WILL WITHSTAND PRESSURE IN THE MEANTIME.

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TELEGRAM

London
7 February 1947

From Secretary of State for India London
To Governor-General (Home Department) New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR SARDAR PATEL FROM MR. HENDERSON. YOUR TELEGRAM 1 FEBRUARY. AS IS BEING REPORTED TO VICEROY BY SECRETARY OF STATE PROPOSALS DATED 26 NOVEMBER 1946 ARE BEING WITHDRAWN AND WILL BE REPLACED BY DIFFERENT PROPOSALS WHICH WILL BE COMMUNICATED TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES I PRESUME THAT YOU WILL NOT MAKE ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT SUCH AS YOU ORIGINALLY PROPOSED.

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New Delhi
26 March 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

As promised during the discussion we had yesterday regarding the future of the Secretary of State's Services, I am sending herewith the correspondence which the Home Department had with the Secretary of State in October-November last year on the subject. You will notice that the Secretary of State's reply dated 19 October, 1946, definitely refers to the possibility of an earlier date for the termination of his connection with the Services than the date of the constitutional changes.

I would also invite your attention in particular to our telegram of 23 October which gives the text of the resolution passed unanimously at the Provincial Premiers' conference convened in October last year. No reply has so far been received to our final telegram dated 24 November, 1946. There was a significant omission of any reference to the date of termination of the Services in the despatch which we received from the Secretary of State towards the end of November on the subject of compensation for the Secretary of State's officers. I pointed out this omission to Mr. Arthur Henderson during the talks I had with him in January last, and he told me that the question of date was engaging the urgent attention of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency
Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
31 March 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 26 March about the termination of the Secretary of State's Services. I find that there has been

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no reply to the official telegram of 24 November to which you refer, and so I am asking the Secretary of State for a reply.

I understand, however, that the Secretary of State's Services cannot be wound up without Parliamentary legislation; and that HMG are anxious to avoid piecemeal legislation at this late stage.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

149

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
26 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I enclose a despatch from the Secretary of State on the subject of compensation for the Services. We had some discussion on this last night, and I will consider very carefully the points that you made.

I should like to put HM Government's decisions to the Cabinet early next week, and I shall be grateful if you would agree to having the despatch circulated as soon as possible to Members of the Cabinet.

There is a similar despatch about officers in the fighting services, and I have sent this to the Defence Member with a request that this despatch should be circulated also to Members of the Cabinet, with a view to discussion early next week.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Department
New Delhi

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New Delhi
27 March 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I thank you for your letter dated 26 March, 1947 on the subject of compensation for the Services.

I am afraid I have not been able to give more than a preliminary consideration to the long despatch. My first reaction is against the whole basis and arguments used in the despatch. To facilitate a discussion in the Cabinet I think it would be necessary to circulate along with the despatch a statement of my views thereon. I hope to be able to send you a note as soon as possible—perhaps by Saturday next.

I feel that sufficient time should be given to Hon'ble Members to digest the contents of the despatch as well as of my note. I would, therefore, suggest that the question may be put down for discussion some time late next week.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency
Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

151

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
29 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

H.E. asks me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of 27 March about the compensation case. He appreciates the difficulty you feel and hopes to take the compensation case with your note in the Cabinet Committee on Tuesday evening. As you are going away on Thursday, according to information received from the Cabinet Secretariat, H.E. proposes that the discussion of

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the case by the full Cabinet should be at the Wednesday meeting, and the Cabinet Secretariat have been informed accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. Abell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

152

New Delhi
30 March 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have received Abell's letter dated 29 March 1947 regarding compensation for the Secretary of State's Services. The programme mentioned therein suits me.

2. I am sending herewith for your advance perusal a copy of my note on this subject, which I have forwarded to the Cabinet Secretariat for circulation to Hon'ble Members.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
7 April 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

H.E. asks me to say with reference to the correspondence about the termination of the control of the Secretary of State over his Services, that he has heard from the Secretary of State that the reply to the Home Department telegram on this subject dated 24 November was intended to be given in paragraph 2 of the Secretary of State's despatch No. 1 of 20 March on the subject of the grant of compensation.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. Abell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
19 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 16 July. I am very grateful to you for issuing orders so promptly in this matter of releases. Thinking the question over again, however, it seems to me that the position would be simplified if Provincial Governments were authorised to grant the release certificates themselves. Since they have been authorised to allow officers to go, it seems an unnecessary formality that release certificates should have to be issued here.

2. As regards officers who are not released before 15 August but who are leaving on that date, I suggest that some authority should issue as in the attached draft letter. This will make the position clear to the India Office and at the same time supply the officer with an authoritative document on which he can draw his compensation on arriving in the UK.

3. If you agree, I should be grateful if you will issue orders accordingly. I suggest that the copies of the orders issued should be given to the Home Department (Pakistan) with the request that they will agree to issue similar orders to Sind and Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

DRAFT

From—Provincial Government (for officers in the provinces), or Home Department (for officers at the Centre).

To —India Office.

I am directed to say that, as Mr.....will not continue in the service of Government in India after the transfer of power, he will be relieved and will proceed on leave preparatory to retirement on or about 15 August 1947 and will be entitled to compensation as from 15 August 1947.

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To —(1) India Office (2 copies).
(2) Copy to officer concerned.
(3) Copy to S.G.G. (Public).
(4) Copy to Provincial Government or Home Department as the case may be.

Note—This letter can issue in advance of the officer's relief.

155

New Delhi
20 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 19 July 1947 regarding the release of the Secretary of State's officers.

2. I am afraid it does not seem possible to authorise Provincial Governments to grant the release certificates themselves. Under paragraph 11 of the Announcement dated 30 April 1947, it is for the Governor-General to be satisfied that in the public interest a civilian officer should be released with entitlement to compensation in advance of the final date. It is, therefore, appropriate that the final release certificate should issue from the Government of India. The individual officers concerned have hardly anything to lose by the issue of these certificates from the Centre. Even ordinarily it takes some time to get one's leave salary and a little delay, even if it occurs, in getting compensation which they are not likely to require immediately after they reach the UK, would hardly seem material.

3. I agree that something on the lines of the suggestion made in paragraph 2 of your letter would have to be done, but I doubt whether it would be possible to issue the letter in advance of an officer's release. A copy of the letter can be given to the officer himself while the original copy can be sent by air mail to the India Office simultaneously. I feel that this should be sufficient. I am, however, having the matter examined and will let you know the final procedure adopted.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
25 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I spoke to you recently about proportionate pension for members of the Central and Provincial Services. You were good enough to agree that if any Provincial Government decided to allow proportionate pension they would be free to do so.

2. There was one other point which I forgot to mention. I understand that there is a good deal of feeling about the fact that the Government of India have not been able to give a clear guarantee of existing pay scales and conditions of service. I would like to have a statement made on the following lines:

> "The Government of India naturally reserve the right to revise pay scales at any time but they do not intend to make any reduction of pay scales, or any orders altering conditions of service to the disadvantage of officers who were appointed substantively to the service of the Government of India before 15 August 1947."

If you felt able to agree to this I think you would find that Dr. Matthai would welcome it from the point of view of the Railway staff and that Pakistan would follow suit.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

157

New Delhi
27 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 25 July 1947. As regards proportionate pension for members of the Central and Provincial Services, I think a distinction must be drawn between those who wish to retire prematurely of their own accord and those whose

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services are not required. In the latter case, it will be open to the Provincial Governments to allow them proportionate pension, but in the former case, I feel there must be uniformity and I would certainly advise Provincial Governments in the interests of uniformity and as a matter of principle not to allow proportionate pension.

I much regret I cannot persuade myself to agree to any further guarantees regarding existing pay scales and conditions of service. I feel that we have gone as far as we could and that if anybody wants any further guarantees it can only arise out of a distrust of our intentions and of a challenge to our good faith. I would not regard such a person as an asset to Government service and would much rather that he left it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

158

New Delhi
22 July 1947

My dear Prafulla[1],

I understand that the West Bengal Cabinet has agreed to the grant of proportionate pension to uncovenanted European Government servants who are willing to continue to serve but are not required and within a time-limit of six months from 15 August to those who are retained in service.

I should like to know whether this is correct. If so, perhaps you are not aware that at the Centre we have refused to admit any such claims in respect of those who might wish to leave the service voluntarily. [H. K.] Mahtab[2] raised this question with me and I told him that this would not be possible. In case you have come to this arrangement I hope you will reconsider it, but whatever the position may be, you should inform me immediately.

1 Prafulla Chandra Ghosh: joined Congress, 1921; Chief Minister of West Bengal after independence; member, State Assembly, 1947-62, 1967-68; constructive worker of Gandhian programme

2 MLA (Bihar and Orissa) in 1924; President, Utkal PCC, 1930 and 1937; member, CWC, 1938-46; Chief Minister, Orissa, 1946-50; Central Government Minister, 1950-52; Governor of Bombay, 1955-56; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1957-60; member of CA from Orissa, 1946-50

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I also understand that the question is likely to be raised about European officers who may have to stay in India after the 15th of August because they cannot get a passage in time. You may be asked whether you would like to keep them on until they can get a passage. Prima facie I feel that there need be no objection to keeping such of them as are likely to be useful, but as regards the others, there is no obligation on us nor would it serve us any useful purpose if we kept them on. You may examine individual cases from this point of view and let me have as soon as possible lists of officers whom you would like to retain until such time as they get a passage.

I should like to know whether you want Banerjee, our Home Secretary here, for the West Bengal Government.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
Chief Minister, West Bengal
Calcutta

159

Calcutta
28 July 1947

My dear Sardar,

Your letter of 22 July reached me on the 26th evening.

Yes, we have agreed to grant proportionate pension to uncovenanted European and Anglo-Indian Government servants who are willing to continue to serve, but are not required. We did not know that at the Centre, you refused to do it. Generally, on principle, we also do not like it. But about 98 to 99 per cent of these European and Anglo-Indian officers belong to the Calcutta Police. They hold such positions that it is rather difficult to displace them immediately even if we liked. So in view of the peculiar circumstances prevailing in Calcutta, we decided to give them this privilege. We could not afford to dislocate the police system in Calcutta. Moreover, Mr. Suhrawardy on behalf of the Eastern Bengal Government gave them a similar promise before.

As regards the European officers who cannot get passage, I do not want to keep anyone of those who are holding key positions unless I consider a particular person to be specially

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useful. But I do not know how many officers are not going to get their passage and who may like to remain. I shall enquire from the Chief Secretary today and then let you know as early as possible.

I have already selected somebody as the Chief Secretary for West Bengal and given his name to the Governor so that arrangement may be made for him to act on the 1st of August, in the Secretariat as an understudy to the present Chief Secretary, Mr. Stevens. I was not sure whether I could get Mr. Banerjee or whether you would like to spare him. So now I am not thinking of Mr. Banerjee, but the appointment that I have made is for a temporary period. So in future if I find the man whom I have selected not up to the mark, then I would request you again.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

160

New Delhi
30 July 1947

My dear Prafulla,

Thank you for your letter of 28 July 1947.

I am rather surprised that you should have agreed to the arrangement about grant of proportionate pension without reference to us. In this matter, uniformity is essential, because what you give in one province you cannot reasonably withhold in another. It was after very careful consideration that we decided not to extend the principle of proportionate pension to those who are retiring voluntarily, beyond the Secretary of State's Services. Your agreement puts us in a rather embarrassing position. Nor do I see how it serves your purpose. According to our information, this option would be open to them only for six months after 15 August which makes it likely that you will have to face the same problem, which you are wishing to avoid, within the next six months. That hardly provides you with any permanent solution of the difficulty which you mention, and if that difficulty has to be faced, it had better be faced now

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than later. The interim period merely provides them greater opportunities of mischief if they are so inclined, and it is most unlikely that they will have any heart in their work. They would, therefore, be a deadweight in the Administration and not at all helpful as you seem to think. You should, therefore, reconsider this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. C. Ghosh
Calcutta

161

Calcutta
4 August 1947

My dear Sardar,

I have received your letter of 30 July.

The decision regarding grant of proportionate pension was unanimously taken in a meeting of the West Bengal Ministers. But before the final agreement I wanted to consult you and Kripalaniji over the phone. I spent a whole day trying to contact you, but in vain. The next day there was the Cabinet meeting and I had to place our point of view. I contacted Kripalaniji and asked for his opinion. He said that it was very difficult for him to say anything from such a distance and asked me to do what I considered best.

After receiving your letter, I had a discussion with Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee on the matter. He also thinks that in view of the present situation in Calcutta, the decision that we have taken is a proper one. He will explain everything to you and I hope you will also then consider ours to be a right step.

With best regards, I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Prafulla Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 4 August 1947.

On such administrative matters, quite clearly Kripalaniji will not be able to help you, because he would not be able to appreciate all the implications involved. I do not know whether you have realised that, if any compensation is to be paid, it will have to come out from the Bengal Government's purse. If you are content with that position, nothing more need be said. But you should realise that, if you proceed in these matters on your own, you can hardly claim any financial relief from the Centre in respect of such expenditure.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. C. Ghosh
Calcutta

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CHAPTER VI

RADCLIFFE AWARD

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
26 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

You will remember that at this morning's meeting of the Partition Committee, I suggested that a solution of the difficulty of finding two chairmen for the Boundary Commissions and a chairman for the Arbitral Tribunal might be found by appointing the same man to all three jobs, in view of the fact that it is hoped that the Boundary Commissions will finish their tasks before the Arbitral Tribunal begins work. The name I suggested was Sir Cyril Radcliffe,[1] some details of whose career I attach. I am not sure whether Sir Cyril would be willing to serve in any or all of the above capacities, but if you would let me know at your very earliest convenience whether you agree to my inviting him to do so, I would telegraph to London immediately.

As regards the period of service, I suggest that he should be asked to come at once and stay for nine months in the first instance. The position might be reviewed on 1 January, 1948. As regards remuneration, I suggest that

a. salary should be paid at the rate of £5,000 a year;

b. payment of a suitable living allowance e.g. £ 2,000 a year free of tax;

c. provision of a suitable house, rent free, for himself, his wife and family;

d. free passages both ways for himself and his family. I understand that he has two boys at school and he would wish them to visit him during their holidays.

[1] Leader of London Bar and Director-General of British Ministry of Information, 1941 to 1945; formed a one-man tribunal to adjudicate on boundaries of India and Pakistan

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If, as we hope, the Boundary Commission is to meet and report by 15 August, there is not a moment to be lost. Would you, therefore, let me know as soon as you can whether I may approach Sir Cyril Radcliffe with the above suggestions?

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

SIR CYRIL RADCLIFFE

Born: 30 March 1899.

Educated: Haileybury and New College, Oxford.

Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, 1922-37.

Eldon Law Scholar, 1924.

Called to the Bar, Inner Temple, 1924.

Bencher 1943. Is now one of the very top members of the Bar in London and is expected to receive a high judicial appointment within a year or two.

During the war, Sir Cyril held various appointments at the Ministry of Information of which he was Director-General from 1941 to 1945.

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New Delhi
19 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will recall that the other day in the Partition Council Mr. Jinnah made much of the so-called 'intransigence' of the Sikhs towards the decisions of the Boundary Commission, in case they were adverse to their demands. I would invite your attention to the attached cutting from today's Dawn, which shows how Muslim opinion practically all over the Punjab has been roused, probably on an organised basis, in favour of an extreme and impossible demand for boundaries, and threats have been held out that all sacrifices shall be made for its achievement.

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The warning is addressed to His Majesty's Government, yourself and the Boundary Commissioners.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
20 July 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

H.E. the Viceroy has asked me to inform you of the result of the NWFP referendum as soon as it was received. H.E., as you know, has gone to Lahore today.

2. The result of the referendum is as follows:

a.	Valid votes for Pakistan	2,89,244
b.	Valid votes for India	2,874
c.	Majority	2,86,370
d.	Percentage of valid votes to electorate entitled to vote was	50.99%
e.	Valid votes cast in last election were	3,75,989
f.	Total electorate entitled to vote in the referendum was	5,72,798
	Therefore votes for Pakistan were	50.49%

3. The above information is being released to the Press at 5.30 p.m. today, Sunday.

Yours sincerely,
Eric Mieville

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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23 July 1947

Dear Mr. Nehru,

Please refer to your letter dated 19 July about the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

I agree with you that in the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been included as part of India. This is in accordance with the principles of the Statement of 3 June, since the Chittagong Hill Tracts form a predominantly non-Muslim area.

I am sure, however, that you will agree with me that, now that the Boundary Commission has been set up, we must leave it to the Commission to determine whether any issue that might be raised before it does or does not fall within its terms of reference.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

167

New Delhi
13 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

A deputation of the Chittagong Hill Tribes saw me this morning and expressed to me their grave apprehension that their area was going to be included in East Bengal under the Boundary Commission award. I am unaware of the source of their information, but they seemed to be well convinced that this was going to happen. I have told them that the proposition was so monstrous that if it should happen they would be justified in resisting to the utmost of their power and count on our maximum support in such resistance.

2. Personally, I feel it is inconceivable that such a blatant and patent breach of terms of reference should be perpetrated by the Chairman of the Boundary Commission. We have all along felt that the future of this area was not at all in doubt. No fair reading of the terms of reference or appreciation of the factual

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position could make a 97 per cent non-Muslim area a part of the award relating to the boundary of East Bengal. Such a decision would also jeopardise the position of the adjoining Tripura State which is a Hindu State with predominantly Hindu population, which has acceded to the Indian Dominion and has joined the Union Constituent Assembly.

3. I, therefore, feel bound to draw your attention to the serious consequences which would follow such a manifestly unjust award. There is no doubt from the report of the Tribal Areas Committee who collected unimpeachable evidence on the spot and whose views I represented to the Chairman of the Commission in a letter (copy enclosed) which I sent to him as Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly, that the entire population of this area is in favour of remaining in the Indian Union.

4. Any award against the weight of local opinion and of the terms of reference, or without any referendum to ascertain the will of the people concerned must, therefore, be construed a collusive or partisan award and will have, therefore, to be repudiated by us. I make this statement with a full sense of responsibility as one who was party to the setting up of the Commission. But you cannot clearly expect us to submit to a proceeding which would be in violation of the basic conception underlying the Commission's terms of reference.

5. I must also point out that public reaction would wholly and overwhelmingly support us in such repudiation. Already there is considerable doubt whether they would get an impartial award under the novel and strange procedure adopted by the Chairman of not even hearing the arguments. Many persons have come and complained to me that he has rendered himself liable, by this means, to being influenced by circles in your secretariat whose antipathies to India and sympathies with the League are well known. The selection, as secretary of the Commission, of one of the European officers of the Punjab, who are generally associated in public mind with pro-League sympathies, has not mended matters. I have generally adopted an indifferent attitude to these complaints, but if the award confirms the worst fears entertained by the public, it is impossible for me to predict the volume of bitterness and rancour which would be let loose and I am certain that this will create a situation which both you and I may have to regret.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
13 August 1947

My dear Mr. Patel,

Just as he was leaving the House for Karachi, the Viceroy received a letter from you on the subject of the Boundary Commission. He just glanced at it, exclaimed 'O God', put it in his pocket and said to me: "Please tell Mr. Patel that I will study his letter in the aeroplane, and, at the same time, please send him a copy of the letter which I wrote to Mr. Nehru this morning about the Boundary Commission Award."

I, therefore, enclose a copy herewith.

Sincerely yours,
Ismay

The Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
13 August 1947

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I am advised that Sir Cyril Radcliffe is sending me the award of the Boundary Commission in the course of today, but that it cannot arrive before I leave for Karachi. At present, therefore, I have no idea of its contents.

It had been my intention to publish the award in a Gazette Extraordinary as soon as it was received and the maps reproduced; but, to judge from reports I have heard and the messages I have received from leaders in both India and Pakistan, there is such apprehension about the nature of the findings that I do not feel that it should be published without an opportunity being given for a discussion of them between duly authorised representatives of India and Pakistan. The object of such a discussion would be

a. to decide upon the timing and method of publication; and

b. to decide the method of implementing the undertaking of the Partition Council to accept the award and to enforce the decisions contained in it.

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The meeting would also, if both parties wished, provide an opportunity for discussing any mutual adjustments in the boundaries by agreement.

I am therefore proposing to Mr. Jinnah that he should send a representative or representatives to Delhi, with a view to a meeting as early as possible on the morning of Saturday, 16 August. By that time, copies of the award and of the maps will have been reproduced. These will be tabled at the meeting. I will let you know if Mr. Jinnah agrees on my return from Karachi tomorrow.

I am very ready to place Government House at your disposal for the meeting. It would, of course, be impossible for me to preside, and, I think, undesirable for me to be even present at the meeting; but if both parties should wish to consult me, I shall be available.

I have undertaken to go to Bombay on the 17th for 24 hours to bid farewell to the first contingent of British troops, and will have to leave in the early morning.

I ought to add that the Governors of Bengal and the Punjab have been informed that the Governments of the two halves of each province will be responsible for all territory up to the notional boundaries from 15 August until the award is published and implemented.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
15 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I asked B. N. Rau[1] to give me a note in regard to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He has given me the enclosed note.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Jurist and administrator; joined ICS, 1910; Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1944-45; India's Permanent Representative to UN; Judge of International Court of Justice

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ENCLOSURE

THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS AND THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION'S AWARD

The Boundary Commission's award has not yet been published; but it is said that the Commission has decided to allocate the above Tracts to East Bengal.

The following facts are relevant:

(a) These tracts cover an area of about 5,000 sq. miles, with a population (according to the Census of 1941) of about 2,47,000, only 7,300 being Muslims. That is to say, about 97 per cent of the population is non-Muslim.

(b) According to the provisional boundaries mentioned in the Indian Independence Act, these tracts fall in West Bengal and therefore in the Dominion of India.

(c) These tracts are an "Excluded Area" under the Act of 1935 and its inhabitants had therefore no representation in the Bengal Legislature and no opportunity of expressing their views on any of the issues connected with the partition of Bengal.

Therefore, every consideration of natural justice required that before an overwhelmingly non-Muslim area of this character, which had been provisionally included in West Bengal, was finally allocated to East Bengal, its inhabitants should have been fully heard by the deciding authority.

"All persons exercising judicial or quasi-judicial functions must observe the following rules:

(1) if the tribunal consists of several members, they must sit and deliberate together and not separately; (2) ...; (3) each party must be given an opportunity of stating his case. If these rules of natural justice are not observed, the decision will be voidable, not absolutely void." [Halsbury, Vol. 26, pp. 285-287]

Apparently in the present instance, the Boundary Commission has made an award in contravention of the above principles. If so, the question arises what is the remedy now available. Pakistan will claim these tracts by virtue of the award and of the provisions of S.3 of the Indian Independence Act. India will claim, on the other hand, that the Award is vitiated by breach of the principles of natural justice. There will thus be a dispute between the Dominions on a "justiciable" issue. Such a dispute falls to be decided in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the Imperial Conference 1930 for this purpose. That is to say, by an ad hoc arbitral tribunal of five members.

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Each party selects two members, one from among States of the Commonwealth that are not parties to the dispute and the other with complete freedom of choice; these four members then choose the Chairman. Assessors may be employed if the parties desire and the expenses are to be equally shared, but each party has to bear the expenses of presenting its case. [Halsbury, Vol. XI, p. 30]

I have discussed the case with Sir Dhiren Mitra[1] and this note represents his views also.

B. N. Rau

14-8-'47

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
25 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Assembly House
New Delhi

CHITTAGONG HILLTRACTS BEING EXCLUDED AND OVERWHELMINGLY NON-MUSLIM AREA IN CONTIGUITY WITH ASSAM ITS INCLUSION IN PAKISTAN IS BEYOND JURISDICTION OF BOUNDARY COMMISSION. THE PEOPLE OF CHITTAGONG HILLTRACTS VEHEMENTLY PROTEST AGAINST THE AWARD AND PRAY FOR ITS REVERSAL. IMMEDIATE STEPS SOLICITED. DEPUTATION STARTED.

SNEHAKUMAR CHAKMA
GENERAL SECRETARY CHITTAGONG
HILLTRACTS PEOPLES ASSOCIATION

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New Delhi
21 August 1947

My dear Hydari[2],

I am writing this regarding the position of Tripura State. According to the Boundary Commission's award, the Chittagong Hill Tribes have been handed over to East Bengal. This places

1 Solicitor-General to Government of India

2 Sir Akbar Hydari: ICS, 1923; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1945-46; Governor of Assam after Independence

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Tripura State in a position of great difficulty and embarrassment. To the north it will have Sylhet, to the west and south-east Bengal. There is a small portion of frontier coterminous with Assam and I understand that communications with Tripura State would be possible through this area. Nevertheless, it is probable that there would be a feeling of uneasiness in the State, which a few months back lost its ruler and is now under a Regency presided over by a Maharani who hails from Panna State. She saw me last month and seemed very nervous, which is quite understandable.

In these circumstances, we feel that the interests of Tripura State should be watched with vigilance by us and the State and its Maharani should be assured of all protection.

I feel that the best way to do so would be through you and would like to know before we finalise any arrangements whether you have any ideas on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari, KCSI, KCIE, ICS
Governor of Assam
Shillong

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New Delhi
9 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

As a consequence of partition, numerous administrative arrangements will be necessary on or about 15 August 1947 if we are to avoid confusion in or breakdown of administrative machinery. For instance, in lieu of those going away to Pakistan personnel will have to be in position for operating and running telegraph services, railway services, civil aviation services, etc. Similarly officers and staff will have to be in position for the supervision of despatch of stores, equipment etc. going to Pakistan, and taking custody of those retained for India or vice-versa. Again, in view of certain radio stations being transferred to Pakistan, the P&T and the Civil Aviation Departments may have to alter their present arrangements for communications; the Meteorological Department may need some change in the machinery for communicating weather information to the Civil Aviation Department and other departments. The Finance Department would

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have to arrange for verification of the cash and other balances of treasuries and of branches of the Imperial Bank performing treasury functions in Pakistan as on 14 August. These are only some obvious instances but there will be a large number of matters in which detailed action will have to be taken by various executive organisations such as the Income-tax, Customs and Central Excise Departments. In regard to some of these matters action will have been decided upon already; in regard to others, decisions cannot be taken finally until the Partition Council has itself come to a decision, and in such cases alternative schemes will have to be kept ready which can be put into operation as soon as a decision has been taken. It is clear thus that over a very wide field, certain administrative arrangements will have to be made as a result of the very act of separation and in order that the necessary preliminary action is taken in good time, it is essential that all the important positions in every department and attached and subordinate offices are held well before the 15th of August by officers who have decided to remain in India.

2. Moreover, it is obvious that those who have elected for Pakistan will no longer be interested in safeguarding the interests of India, but will be more concerned in doing everything they can to promote the interests of Pakistan even by prejudicing those of India. We cannot look for any co-operation from them even in the day-to-day administration, let alone in matters of importance. The possibility cannot be ignored of the enthusiasm of some of these persons outrunning their discretion, and we must provide against the danger of sabotage, etc. in certain key departments, as for example telephones. These circumstances, in my view, make it essential that we take these persons off their regular administrative duties and replace them as soon as possible by those who have elected to serve India. The former can be placed, for the time being until they leave for Pakistan, on special duty, or can be given special joining time.

3. I suggest that this change should take place with immediate effect.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
12 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 9 July, in which you suggest that Pakistan personnel should be eliminated from the existing departments of the Government of India.

2. As you will have seen, I have incorporated your proposal in the draft scheme for reconstituting the Government of India.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
29 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I hope shortly to receive from London copies of the draft "Indian Independence Bill," which is going to be introduced into Parliament next month.

2. His Majesty's Government has agreed that I should show you copies of this draft. In doing so, they have pointed out that it is completely contrary to usual parliamentary practice to show texts of Bills to other parties concerned before publication.

3. His Majesty's Government has therefore insisted that I should not give you copies of the draft Bill for retention. I am sure that you will appreciate the reasons for this.

4. I invite you to come to the Viceroy's House at 10 a.m on Tuesday, 1 July, to study this draft. I would propose that the representatives of the Congress and of the Muslim League should sit in separate rooms for two hours and read the draft through. The Muslim League representatives would be in Her Excellency's sitting-room and the Congress representatives in

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my study. I shall be obliged to withdraw copies of the draft Bill after you have studied them.

5. I am also inviting

Pandit Nehru

Mr. Jinnah

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

6. I suggest that Sir B. N. Rau should be available to give you any assistance you require when you read through the draft. Mr. H. M. Patel will be present in any case as Secretary. I am similarly suggesting to the Muslim League representatives that Mr. Justice Rahman and Mr. Mohammad Ali should be available for them. My Reforms Commissioner will also be in attendance, ready to be summoned by either party to elucidate any points.

7. I myself will be available towards the end of the morning to hear any points which you might wish to suggest that I should take up with HMG.

8. Let us arrange, on Tuesday morning, any further meetings that are required—either that evening or on Wednesday evening, perhaps.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
29 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 29 June 1947 regarding the draft "Indian Independence Bill."

I shall be glad to come to the Viceroy's House at 10 a.m. on Thursday, 1 July 1947, to study the draft.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi
10 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am sending you herewith a copy of an extract from the speech which Mr. Attlee[1] is making in Parliament this afternoon during the debate on the second reading of the Indian Independence Bill, and which is being released here at 8 o'clock this evening. I thought you would like to see in advance what he is going to say.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY MR. ATTLEE DURING THE DEBATE ON THE SECOND READING OF THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE BILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON 10 JULY 1947

Clause V of the Bill provides for appointment by the King of a Governor-General for each of the new dominions with a proviso, however, that until provision is made to the contrary by either of the new dominions the same person may be Governor-General of both.

That is a pretty clear clause and normally it would be both unnecessary and inexpedient for a Minister here to say anything more about it. The House is aware that the appointment of a Governor-General is made by the King on the advice of his Ministers in the dominion concerned and it would be wholly improper for HMG in the United Kingdom to be in any way concerned.

But it is necessary for me to make some further comments because the position in relation to the appointment of the Governor-General of the new dominions is exceptional. In the first place there is the procedure. It is not possible to follow normal procedure in this case. Under the Bill the Governors-

[1] Clement Richard Attlee: Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in Churchill Cabinet in Second World War; Prime Minister of Britain, 1945-51

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General will have to be appointed as from 15 August and although the two countries become dominions as from that date, there can be no Ministers formally to advise the Crown until a Governor-General has been appointed and the Ministers have taken office.

In these circumstances it was agreed with Indian leaders and the King's approval was obtained that the Viceroy would consult the recognised leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League as to whom they would wish to recommend for appointment as Governors-General. Then their advice would be tendered formally to the King by HMG in the United Kingdom. This procedure would of course only apply in the present case. I wish to emphasise the fact that although appointments would be made on the formal advice of Ministers here, they were in fact recommendations of the Indian leaders themselves.

So much for exceptional procedure in the present instance. But the Viceroy has represented that it would be in the interest of all if some statement could be made at an early date about persons who are to be recommended for these posts. This again is a most unusual procedure and I should inform the House that I have received the King's specific authority for referring to recommendations which are before him and to which assent cannot of course be given until the Bill has become law.

It had been intimated to us that it would be most convenient to all concerned to have one Governor-General at least in the initial stages, and for some time we proceeded on this assumption. It recently became clear, however, that the Muslim League was in favour of a separate Governor-General to be appointed for Pakistan. It is obviously very desirable for this matter to be settled at the earliest opportunity in order that the position may be understood in India and so that the new Governors-General can prepare themselves to take over after August 15th. Both the Congress and the Muslim League, who have been recognised in the Bill as successor authorities, have made recommendations which have been conveyed by HMG to His Majesty.

While the formal announcement must await the passing of the Bill, His Majesty has intimated that he will be prepared to accept these recommendations as soon as the Bill is passed. The recommendations are in favour of the present Viceroy as Governor-General of India and Mr. Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan. I wish to add that the recommendation of Lord Mountbatten is also welcomed by the Muslim League. I am also informed that the Muslim League have agreed that he should be Chairman of the Joint Defence Council, which will be responsible for the central administration of the Armed Forces until such time as India and Pakistan are themselves in a position to administer. I am quite sure that the House will agree with me that this recommendation shows that Lord Mountbatten has carried out his duties in India with complete impartiality and has won the confidence of all peoples of India. He has expressed his willingness in the special

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circumstances to serve in this capacity, at all events during the transition period.

I wish here and now to pay my tribute to Lord Mountbatten. Great benefits to the future of the whole continent of India would have followed from his appointment as Governor-General of both the new dominions. However this is not to be. As a constitutional Governor-General he will, of course, act on the advice of Ministers in all matters. Nevertheless, he has built up a remarkable position for himself with both parties in India and his wise counsel and great devotion to the public cause without any thought of his own personal position will undoubtedly prove a most beneficial factor in the future development of the whole continent of India.

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
12 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

. . . I am forwarding herewith a copy of the statement in the form in which it will be issued to the British officers and men serving in India. It is not being issued to the Press, but it is being sent out by air to all Commands in India for distribution as necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

TO BRITISH OFFICERS AND MEN SERVING WITH THE ARMED FORCES OF INDIA

The Indian Armed Forces have now to be reconstituted in accordance with the policy agreed by the Indian leaders. All concerned are convinced that British officers are needed for the period during which the Armed Forces are being divided and reconstituted.

The Commander-in-Chief and senior officers of all three Services at Defence Headquarters are staying on for this period. The Commander-in-Chief, who is assuming the title Supreme Commander, will be responsible under the general direction of the Joint Defence Council of the two Dominions for reconstituting the Armed Forces. At the invitation of Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah, I have willingly accepted the Chairmanship of this Joint Defence Council as an independent Chairman. The Supreme Commander will continue to

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be advised by the existing Naval, Army and Air Staffs. When the task is done the Supreme Commander and these other British officers will go, but others will be required to see the Defence Forces of the two Dominions firmly established.

The strain which will be thrown on officers of the Indian Services in carrying out this reconstitution, in addition to ordinary administration and training, will be considerable and if a large number of highly trained and experienced British officers are suddenly removed the risk of a serious breakdown will be very real.

Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah have expressed the desire and hope that the requisite number of British officers and other ranks, including technical specialists, will stay on. I share their feeling and hope that sufficient British personnel will volunteer, although I want it to be clearly understood that no one will be compelled to serve on if he does not wish to do so.

The terms and conditions of service under which British officers and Other Ranks will be asked to volunteer have been approved by the representatives of both the new Dominions and by me, and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have concurred. These terms will be published immediately.

I shall be proud to be associated with those who will stay on and help in this great task.

Mountbatten of Burma

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
12 July 1947

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
12 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

V. P. Menon pointed out to me this morning that there was a typist's omission in the text of the draft communique which he had shown you. I enclose a copy of the latest text which I have sent to Pandit Nehru and shall show to Mr. Jinnah this evening. The differences from the text which V. P. Menon showed you are, first, that the sentence in the second paragraph about there being nine Members of each group is omitted, and, secondly, a sentence is put in showing that the existing departments will be in the charge of the Members for India.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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ENCLOSURE

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE ON THE RECONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

In order to facilitate the setting up of the new administration of Pakistan His Excellency the Viceroy has decided with the concurrence of the party leaders that the Interim Government should be reconstituted on the following lines.

The Government will consist of two groups representing the two successor Governments of India and Pakistan.

The two groups will meet separately to consider matters concerning their own territories, and jointly under the chairmanship of the Governor-General to consider matters of common concern.

The existing departments will be in charge of the Members representing India. The personnel who have chosen to serve in Pakistan will be withdrawn from the existing departments, and will staff Pakistan departments which will be organised at once in Delhi and will serve the Pakistan members of the Cabinet.

There will thus be what amounts to two provisional Governments, one for India and one for Pakistan, each dealing with its own business and consulting the other on matters of common concern.

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
14 July 1947

My dear Shankar,

His Excellency has asked me to write to say for the information of your Hon'ble Member that Royal assent will be given to the Indian Independence Bill on 18 July 1947.

Yours sincerely,
G. E. B. Abell

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS

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New Delhi
16 July 1947

My dear Abell,

Thank you for your letter regarding the Royal assent to the Indian Independence Bill. I have conveyed the information to H.M. who has asked me to say how much he appreciates H.E.'s kind thought in conveying it to him.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble the Home Member

Sir George Abell, KCIE., OBE., ICS,
Secretary to the Governor-General
(Personal)
The Viceroy's House
New Delhi

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
14 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I enclose an official letter which I have sent to Pandit Nehru as Vice-President of the Interim Government, since I feel that you as Home Member are equally concerned.

As you know, we agreed that in the first instance I should only remain on for the transition period which I feel will end by mid-April, for the Governor-General's special powers terminate on 31 March, and the Joint Defence Council will probably wind up by then.

We can discuss in the New Year whether you wish to replace me by an Indian, but personally I believe you will be well advised to do so.

May I point out that part of the staff which I am suggesting I shall keep, will continue to be paid for by His Majesty's

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Government, since I feel it is only right that they should help with seeing the job through for which they were originally engaged?

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

14 July 1947

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I have been thinking about the reduction and changes which I should like to make in my personal staff after the transfer of power and the following are my conclusions.

2. I consider that the ICS members of my staff should go immediately after the transfer of power. These are:

Sir George Abell (PSV)
Mr. W. H. J. Christie[1] (JPSV)
Mr. I. D. Scott (DPSV)
Mr. C. P. Scott (APSV)

I am sure that you will agree with this.

3. The other members of that special staff who came out with me are:

Lord Ismay
Sir Eric Mieville
Lt. Col. V. F. Erakine-Crum, and
Mr. Campbell-Johnson

I propose to release Sir Eric Mieville in September but I think myself that it would be a very good thing if Lord Ismay with the two other staff officers, (one of whom, Campbell-Johnson, is my Press Attache), Lord Ismay's ADC and 4 or 5 of our 12 lady secretaries, were to stay on for a period after 15 August. Apart from any help which he could give us here from his great experience, Lord Ismay would, I suggest, be of the greatest value in paying occasional visits to Karachi and acting as a high-level link with Mr. Jinnah. But I would like particularly to have your agreement to this suggestion before a final decision is made. These members of the special staff would continue to be paid by HMG who have agreed to this.

4. I should like to appoint my regular Naval Secretary, Captain (S) R. V. Brockman, RN, as Secretary to the Governor-General (Personal) and Com-

[1] ICS; Chief Commissioner of Delhi when Interim Government was formed

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mander (S) G. H. Nicholls, RN (who has also been with me before) as Deputy Secretary to the Governor-General (Personal). Uptill now these two officers have, as members of the special staff which I brought out with me, been paid by HMG, but I feel that these two, together with one lady secretary of my private office, should be paid by the Government of India from 15 August, if you agree.

5. There now arises the question of the handling of official papers from 15 August onwards. As constitutional Governor-General I should expect to receive very little correspondence from Honourable Members and from the Secretariat of the Government of India. My own secretary, Captain Brockman, who has been the senior officer in the PSV's office immediately under Sir George Abell, is, of course, capable of carrying on with such business as may arise.

6. But it has occurred to me that it might be an excellent thing for you to appoint one of your own officers as Secretary to the Governor-General (official) who could have offices both in the Secretariat and in this house, and who would be the channel for all official papers and the link with Government departments.

7. He would, of course, have the entree to me at all times, although I suggest that routine papers might come to me by box as heretofore.

8. I should hope that this official secretary would work in close association with my personal secretary. As the volume of official work may not be large, I feel that the official secretary need not be too senior. He would definitely rank as a member of my personal staff and would, I hope, be accommodated in one of the Government houses allocated to the Governor-General's staff, although probably not on the Estate.

9. Would you let me know whether you favour this idea? Or do you prefer such papers as require my attention to be sent direct to my private office as heretofore?

10. I have given instructions for my cypher section to be wound up by the end of August. As for the printing press, I think that it should remain for the time being at any rate. It has not yet finished printing Lord Wavell's papers, let alone starting on mine, but perhaps it could gradually take over Government of India work as it clears these off.

11. I feel that it would perhaps be best for me to retain my present Military Secretary, Colonel Currie, his deputy, Major Gilliat, the comptroller, Mr. Daubeny, and the surgeon, Lt. Colonel Taylor. It would seem wrong to appoint Indian officers in their places at this stage, as there will be a great demand for those of the necessary seniority elsewhere during the processes of nationalisation and partition. But I will, of course, do whatever you wish in this respect. I would like to keep Captain Burnaby-Atkins on as deputy comptroller, at all events for the time being, as there are many arrears to be caught up in this department.

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12. As for AsDC, I have at present four British AsDC and three Indian AsDC. I intend to cut this total down by two British AsDC but would wish, of course, to retain all three Indians, or substitutes in their places if they are required elsewhere.

13. To sum up I suggest that between mid-August and mid-September the following members of my staff should leave:

Sir Eric Mieville

Sir George Abell

Mr. W. H. J. Christie

Mr. I. D. Scott

Mr. C. P. Scott

Captain F. M. H. FitzRoy

Fl/Lt. The Hon. W. H. C. Beaumont, and 6 lady secretaries.

In addition to this, some of the lower grade permanent staff will also be dispensed with as the work reduces.

14. I do not know what the future Government of India would wish me to do about the Viceroy's House and Viceregal Lodge, Simla. I do not wish to do anything that might embarrass the Government, and if it would help you if I were to move into a smaller house, please do not hesitate to say so. Whatever the house finally chosen, whether the Viceroy's House or another one, I consider the name of the Governor-General's residence in Delhi should be "Government House" and the residence in Simla, if it is kept, to be changed to Governor-General's Lodge (to avoid confusion with the Punjab Government House in Simla).

15. I hope you will not hesitate to let me know your candid views on all the above, as I do not want to take any step in regard to my personal staff with which you are not in agreement. Perhaps when we agree in principle the details might be worked on the staff level.

16. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sardar Patel as Home Member.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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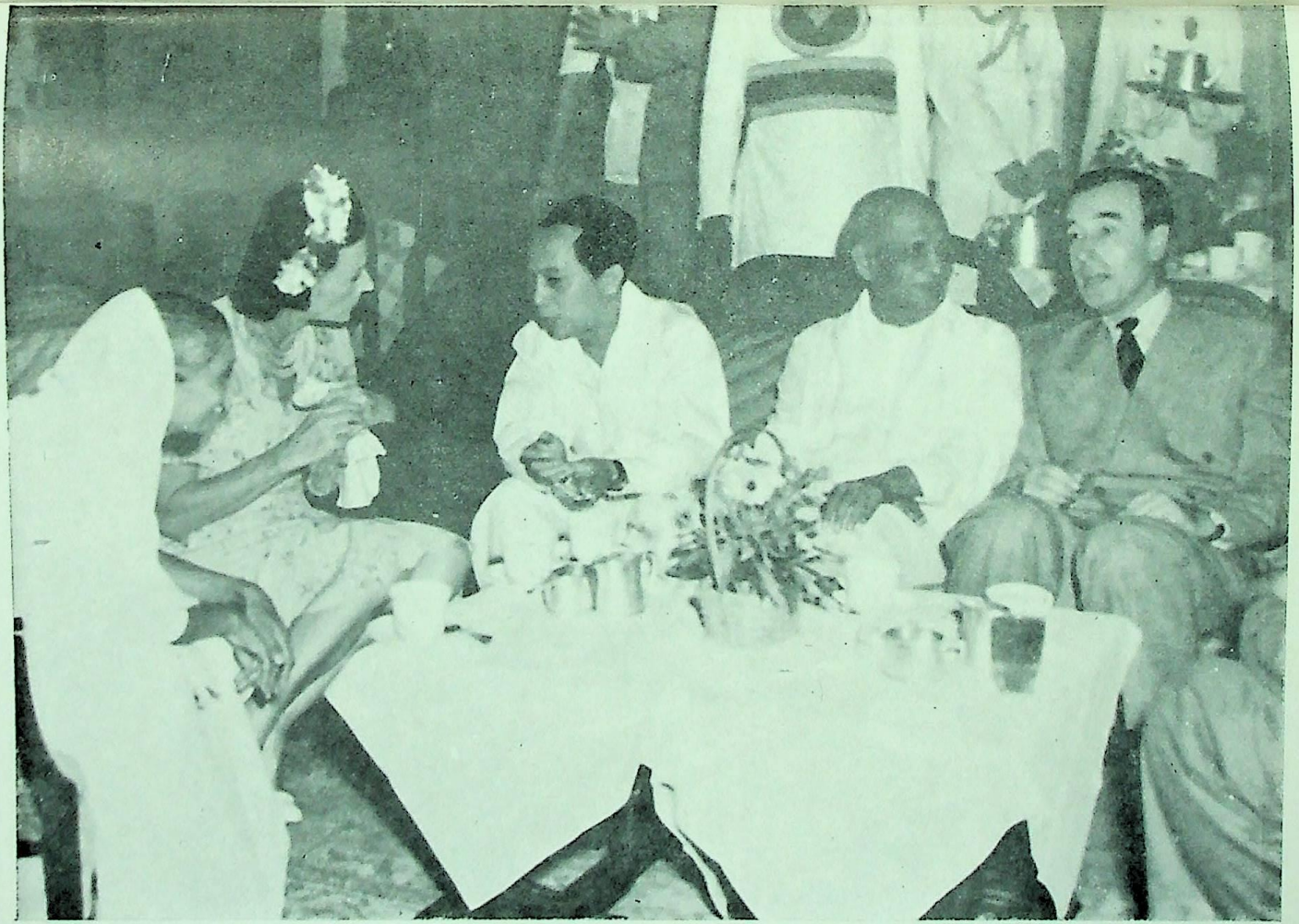

RECEPTION GIVEN BY PATEL AT IMPERIAL HOTEL, NEW DELHI, ON 27 JULY 1947. LEFT TO RIGHT: MANIBEN PATEL, LADY MOUNTBATTEN, S. SHAHRIR (THEN VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDONESIA), PATEL AND MOUNTBATTEN

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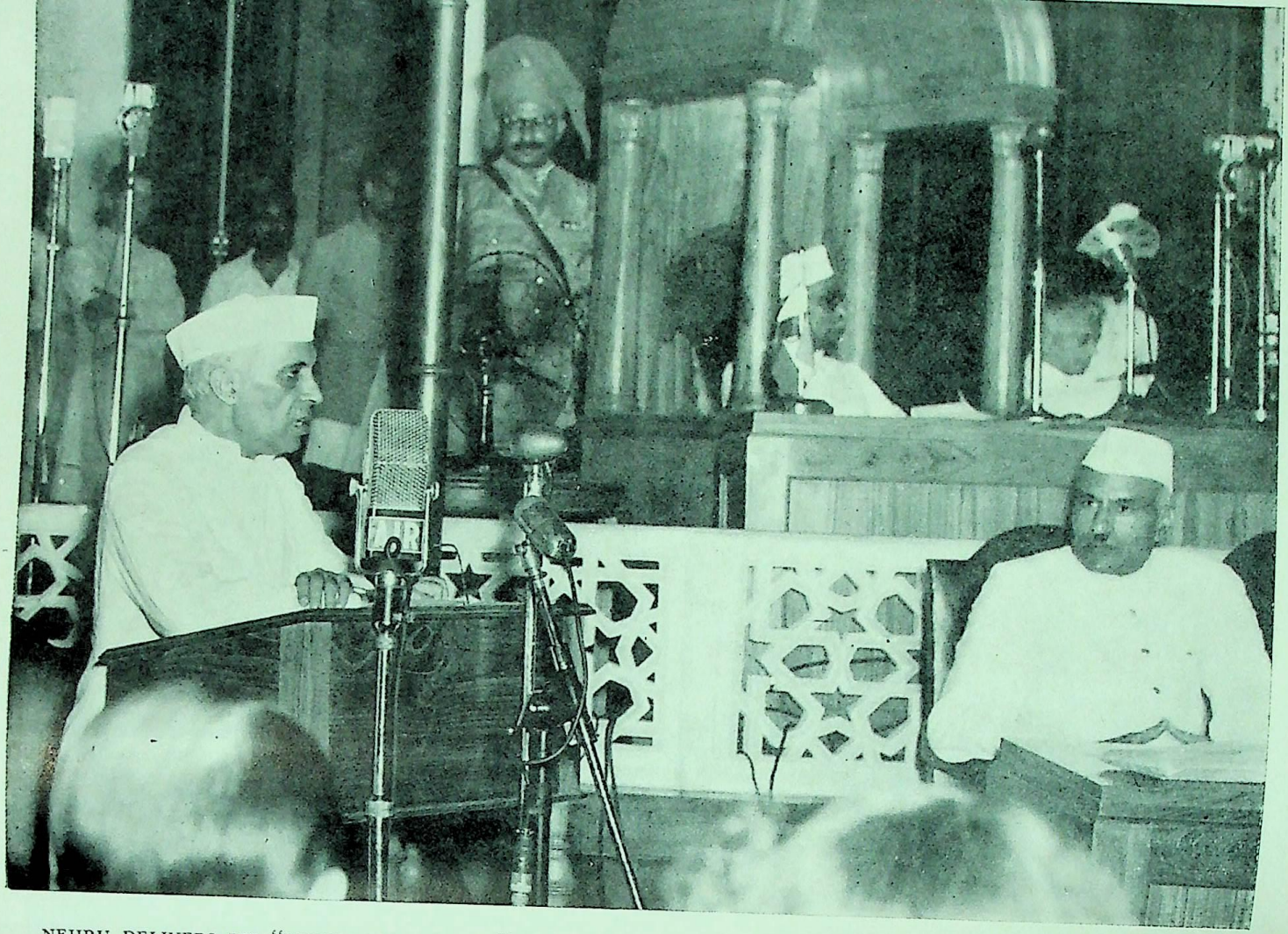

NEHRU DELIVERS HIS "TRYST-WITH-DESTINY" SPEECH AT THE MIDNIGHT SESSION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA ON 14/15 AUGUST 1947. DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD IS IN THE CHAIR

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Partition Office
New Delhi
7 July 1947

My dear Chanda,[1]

Reference our conversation. I set out below for your information and general guidance the line which it has been decided to take at the Centre and which may be expressed as follows:

1 The fixed assets lying in the territory of each of the two Governments to come into being will vest in the respective Government.

2 The Government which takes over the assets in its territory must take over also a corresponding liability.

3 For this purpose the assets will be valued at their book value or capital at charge. (Where book value is not available, the best possible estimate of the cost of acquisition will be made.)

4 The difference between the total liability and total asset will be shared between the two Governments in a proportion to be worked out after taking into account factors such as area, population, respective contribution etc. (In the Centre the liabilities exceed the assets, whereas in the Punjab the assets are in excess but the principle is the same, that the difference between the assets and liabilities is to be shared in the proper proportion. It is understood that in the Punjab the two sides are agreed on a weighted average based on the three factors mentioned above. There would be obvious advantage in sticking to this agreement. We would, however, be interested to know for our information how this has been arrived at, and what the difference would be if some of the other bases were adopted.)

The line which it has been decided to adopt at the Centre is a sound one and in its essentials must be adopted also in the provinces to be partitioned, any adaptations made by the authorities on the spot being limited to such as do not infringe the essential principles indicated above and therefore such as cannot constitute an embarrassment to the Centre.

[1] A. K. Chanda: Comptroller and Auditor-General, 1954-59; member of Land-Lease delegation to USA, 1946; Adviser, Punjab Partition Council, 1947; Additional Secretary, Government of India, 1947; Deputy High Commissioner for India in UK, 1948-49

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I also enclose a copy of a letter addressed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Shri N. R. Sarkar[1] on this subject for your information. It covers one or two points which also should be of interest to you.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Patel[2]

A. K. Chanda, Esq., OBE

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16 Constitution House
New Delhi
15 July 1947

Respected Sardarji,

Confidential communication has reached me that a large number of railway waggons which have more or less gone out of use are proposed to set off for the Union in the distribution of assets for which the value of about a crore of rupees has been put. Most of these waggons and trucks are lying in the yards and elsewhere in railways in Assam. Some of these waggons were telescoped during the period of war and most of them have been so rusted and fallen into such bad condition that their value could not be set off much above scrap iron. This information has been given to me by one who is supposed to know these facts. I shall be grateful if you will kindly enquire about this fact and set the things right, if anything wrong is proposed to be done.

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1941-42; Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industries, West Bengal, after Independence; Mayor of Calcutta, 1934-35; member, Central Banking Enquiry Committee; member, Indian Industrial Mission to Britain and USA, 1945

[2] ICS; Director-General, Supply Department, 1942-43; Secretary to Cabinet, 1946-47; Defence Secretary; Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India; Member, Lok Sabha and leader Swatantra Party, 1970

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DEWAN CHAMANLAL'S[1] NOTE TO SARDAR PATEL REGARDING DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

18 July 1947

In the Railway Departmental Sub-Committee on Assets and Liabilities agreement has been reached on the arrangements for ensuring the continuity of train services and on the basis of division of locomotives, carriages, wagons, plant, machinery and workshops, and on the measure of mutual assistance for repairs in workshops to locomotives, carriages and wagons.

2. Investigation for evaluating the fixed assets located on each side of the boundary had been proceeding for the last 12 days or so on an agreed basis jointly by Muslim and non-Muslim staff, but unfortunately after the results had been tabulated the Muslim members have gone back on their previous agreement and have refused to accept the figures. The method was admittedly an approximate one and did not aim at working out the value to the last rupee, but the present criticisms of the Muslim members are disingenuous. The argument of the Muslim members is that these figures being unreliable should not form the basis of division of railway liabilities between India and Pakistan, and this division should be on another basis, but no basis had been suggested by the Muslim members.

3. In Committee No. II practically no work has been done so far to come to grips with the contentious problem and to clinch the issues with the Muslim members.

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New Delhi
3 August 1947

My dear Matthai,

I understand that out of the locomotives which will fall to the share of Pakistan under the scheme of partition, 121 are at present at Sealdah [Calcutta] and will have to move out. This was an agreed recommendation of the Railway Sub-committee on Assets and Liabilities, but the General Manager of the B.&A. Railway, who himself has opted for Pakistan, has so far made no

[1] One of the founders of All-India Trade Union Congress, 1920; MLA (Central) 1924-31 and 1945-48; member, CA, 1946-48; MLA (Punjab) 1937-45; later Ambassador to Turkey

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effort to implement this decision. This also means retention at Sealdah of about 1,800 men. We cannot clearly allow this because the safety of an important junction like Sealdah cannot be endangered. It has generally been agreed that the staff which has elected for Pakistan should leave for Pakistan as soon as possible before 15 August. I cannot understand, therefore, why this staff and the locomotives cannot move to the Pakistan area. It is for the Pakistan Government to make arrangements for the reception of this staff and the locomotives. We are not bound to keep them merely because they cannot be accommodated in Pakistan, and when their continuance in India is likely to prejudice our interests it is our duty to send them away.

2. I understand that an offer was made to the Pakistan [Government] on our behalf that so long as the Pakistan Railway has not made arrangements for accommodating these locomotives in its own shed, trains might be worked beyond Kanchrapara by our locomotives and our engine-crews, so that there was no idea whatsoever of our doing anything which would dislocate traffic. It is for the Pakistan Government either to remove their locomotives from Sealdah or to accept our offer of assistance. If they fail to accept either of the two alternatives, they must face the consequences.

3. It is essential that our railways should, before 15 August, be completely manned by staff who have opted for India; we cannot afford to face any risk of sabotage, and this is particularly true of key posts like general manager, superintendent of workshops, officer-in-charge of store depots, etc.

4. I understand that three key posts on the B&A Railway, viz., General Manager, Controller of Stores and Deputy Chief Mechanical Engineer, Kanchrapara Workshops, are at present held by officers who have opted for Pakistan. This is clearly unsatisfactory and we should make immediate attempts to effect the change.

5. I would be grateful if you would kindly look into these matters with the least possible delay and let me know what action you have taken, so that, if necessary, I can take up the matter in the Partition Council.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai,
2 King Edward Road
New Delhi

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Partition Council Secretariat
New Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have been thinking of the work that still remains to be done and how it is to be tackled. Although a substantial measure of agreement has already been reached and orders of the Partition Council obtained in regard to a very large number of the problems arising out of partition, we have still to settle a number of problems, besides the whole series of important problems arising out of the Assets and Liabilities Committee Report on which it has not been possible to reach an agreement. The latter will have to be referred to the Arbitration Tribunal and cases will have to be prepared carefully in respect of each one of the points involved. For convenience of reference, I list below these particular issues:

1. the basis on which the various kinds of assets and, in particular, the assets of the Railways, are to be valued;
2. the share of the public debt to be allocated to Pakistan;
3. the manner in which the sterling assets of the Government of India are to be shared;
4. how pension liabilities are to be allocated, etc.

2. There are also the problems arising out of the partitioning of the provinces of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. Most of these problems will, after 15 August, assume an inter-dominion aspect and quite a number of them will be referred to the same Arbitration Tribunal for decision. It is therefore important that Central guidance and direction should be available to our side on the Provincial Partition Council.

3. It seems to me to be essential that the problems I have referred to in the preceding paragraphs should continue to be handled by the Partition Office even after 15 August. It has been recognised that the period ending 31 March 1948 will be an interim period for various administrative matters, such as defence, currency, customs, frontiers and trade, etc. It may thus be necessary to continue this office up to 31 March 1948. (It

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will of course be understood that as work goes down the strength of the office will be reduced even before the end of this period. I might add that the Partition Office, despite the volume of the work that it has had to handle, is a relatively small organisation consisting of, besides myself, two Deputy Secretaries, one Under-Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries.) I visualise that it will be the duty of this office to

a. handle cases referred to the Partition Council;
b. maintain close liaison with the JDC and its Sectt. so as to ensure that its work proceeds on lines approved on the non-defence side;
c. prepare India's case in regard to the points to be referred to Arbitration Tribunal for decision;
d. provide a clearing-house for provincial partition problems and also to assist in the preparation of provincial cases for the Arbitration Tribunal;
e. assist in the implementation of decisions reached.

4. I am not sure that we have heard the last about the matters over which agreed conclusions have been recorded. If the spirit in which discussions have taken place during the last fortnight are any guide, I apprehend many questions of interpretation will arise in the immediate future. I should not be surprised if attempts are made to interpret to our disadvantage any decisions that are inconvenient to Pakistan. Moreover, in many instances, the standstill agreements that we have reached, e.g. regarding controls, cannot be modified except after prior consultation with Pakistan. In some other cases, we have agreed to day-to-day consultation and coordination between the concerned authorities of the two dominions, as for instance in regard to Railway Priority Organisation. It is not unlikely that on many points controversies will develop. If correspondence in regard to such controversies is handled by separate departments, it will be most difficult for us to ensure that the correct line is adopted in each case and that bargaining counters are not needlessly frittered away. It seems, therefore, obvious that correspondence of this nature with Pakistan should be handled through a central office.

5. Normally, it is the Commonwealth Relations Department which acts as the channel of correspondence between the Dominion Governments. But the correspondence with Pakistan in the next few months will not be of a normal nature; most of it will arise out of the partition problems. It is not unlikely that in accordance

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with the decision already taken, one side or the other may wish to refer to the Partition Council for decision any matters not resolved by consultations at the official level. These disputed matters will all have a background with which only the Partition Office will be familiar. There will thus clearly be some advantage if the Partition Office is for the interim period recognised to be a more appropriate channel of communication with the Pakistan Government.

I propose to discuss the whole question with Bajpai[1] with a view to ascertaining if there is any objection from his point of view to such an arrangement. I understand from Mohammad Ali[2] that the Pakistan [Government] would be prepared to fall in with any arrangement that we consider to be suitable here.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
22 August 1947

My dear Patel,

Please refer to your letter dated 9 August 1947 regarding the future of the Partition Office addressed to H.M.

H.M. agrees that the Partition Office must continue to function and that it would be best if correspondence relating to partition matters with the Government of Pakistan were conducted through the Partition Office and not, as would normally be the case, through the External Affairs & Commonwealth Relations Department.

H.M. is unable to commit himself in regard to the strength of the office, because that would depend on the volume of work which cannot, in the nature of things, be a constant factor.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
PS to HM, Home & I&B

H. M. Patel Esq., ICS
Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat
New Delhi

1 Sir G. S. Bajpai: ICS; Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, from June 1947; adviser to Indian delegation to UN Security Council for discussions on Kashmir; Governor of Bombay

2 Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali: Finance Minister of Pakistan and later Prime Minister for short period

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6 King Edward Road
New Delhi
26 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I am enclosing for your personal information a file on which I do not consider it proper to put a formal note. The way in which certain junior members of the staff seem to have been behaving will leave behind unpleasant memories, which ought to have been avoided. I think it should be the endeavour on both sides now to promote feelings of cordiality and of goodwill, which may contribute to the establishment of permanent relations of friendship between the two dominions. You are in the best position to judge whether the circumstances mentioned in the enclosed file call for any action and if so what.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ghazanfar Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
28 July 1947

My dear Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan,

Thank you for your letter of 26 July 1947.

I fully agree with you that now that we have to part we must do so with the maximum amount of goodwill and cordiality, and I am glad that you have not placed a formal note on the file. I personally feel that this matter should not have been noted upon at all and that it would have been satisfactorily and in a friendly atmosphere cleared up if there had been a personal approach to the subject.

I find that instructions have already been given to the record-keeper to ascertain the requirements of the Home Department Secretariat of the Pakistan Government and to comply with the request. Nothing else needs to be done in this particular case.

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I am sending to my Home Secretary a copy of your letter and my reply thereto for guidance.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan
6 King Edward Road
New Delhi

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17 Tuglak Road
New Delhi
8 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

The Boundary Commission is to give its decision in the next two days. There is one important point which I consider it my duty to bring to your notice even at this late hour. This is about Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak. To ensure peaceful conditions, it is essential that Nankana Sahib is included in the East Punjab. The case has been very strongly pressed before the Boundary Commission. I am, however, surprised to hear from the opposite side the comparison of Nankana Sahib with Muslim shrines. This is an untenable position for the simple reason that such Muslim shrines of whatever importance cannot have the same importance for them as Nankana Sahib has for the Sikhs. Nankana Sahib is the birth place of the founder of Sikhism and Sikhs must insist on its inclusion in the Eastern Punjab. I have a feeling that the argument for inclusion of Nankana Sahib in the Eastern Punjab is so effective that the Boundary Commission will find it almost impossible to ignore it.

In this connection I understand the chairman is considering the question of communications between the Eastern Punjab and Nankana Sahib area on the river Ravi. The bridge at Balloke headworks may not be available to the Sikhs if the Lower Bari Doab Canal is assigned to the Western Punjab. It may therefore be necessary to shift Balloke headworks a few miles downstream to meet the Sikh case. This can be facilitated if the Government of India undertake on behalf of the Eastern Punjab Government to meet the expenditure for shifting the headworks or for the construction of a new bridge across the Ravi at a suitable distance upstream from the Balloke headworks. If this is agreed to, I am

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told that the case for the inclusion of Nankana Sahib in the East Punjab would be made certain.

An assurance from you that every possible help in meeting the expenditure for shifting the headworks will strengthen our case. I hope you will put this up to the Viceroy.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Member for Home & States
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Since I wrote to you on Wednesday last, I understand that there have been further conversations between Messrs. Mohammad Ali, H. M. Patel, V. P. Menon and Cooke, on the proposal that the Dominion of India should take over full responsibility for the present National Debt. Apparently the Pakistan spokesmen apprehend that if the liability which will fall to their share is converted into an inter-Governmental debt, then India as a creditor country would have an unfair advantage. I am quite convinced that this apprehension is ill-founded.

2. It might be of some assistance to you in considering this matter further and coming to a decision, if I set out here, briefly, the lines on which India would propose that it should be dealt with. Assuming that Pakistan's share of the National Debt is converted into a loan from India to Pakistan, the loan would be repayable in 50 annual equated payments, which would commence three or four years after 15 August 1947. The capital amount of the loan would be settled by agreement or arbitration. For the purpose of working out the equated payments, interest would be charged at a figure as nearly as possible equal to what India herself would be paying on the various public loans involved.

3. You will agree, however, that these financial arrangements are technical matters which will have to be carefully examined and worked out in detail by technical experts. Moreover, they are of such great importance that they will have to be considered formally by the full Cabinet. But I think it is unlikely

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that the Cabinet would not generally endorse the scheme I have roughly outlined above.

4. I was told that the question of allocation of the cash balances to Pakistan was also raised in this connection. My own view has always been that this is a separate and unconnected issue. We have already agreed as a matter of settlement in the Partition Council that Rs. 20 crores may be allocated to Pakistan at once, and the view of the Indian side is that this decision takes account of all the factors and should not require revision. It is, however, open to revision by the Arbitration Tribunal, who will be at liberty to make any award they consider just and reasonable. If Pakistan, however, would like us to reconsider the matter before it is referred to the Arbitration Tribunal, we shall be prepared to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

192

New Delhi
August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I write this because I feel that at today's meeting of the Partition Council it was not fully appreciated what the consequences of the failure to agree to issue the Properties, Rights and Liabilities Order would be.

In so far as lands and buildings and other property are concerned, it would be open to India to issue an order on the 15th making it clear that all property within its territories would be their absolute property. Pakistan would presumably do the same in respect of property situated in its territories. This would of course have the effect of abrogating all the various agreements that have been reached for the division of assets between the two dominions, and since the agreements cover almost the entire field, such abrogation would obviously be most unfortunate.

In regard, however, to the vesting of the responsibility for the Public Debt, the consequences would not merely be unfortunate but extremely grave and would put in jeopardy the possibility of a peaceful implementation of partition. India would again be compelled to issue an order on the 15th assuming full responsibility for payment of interest and principal on the outstanding Public Debt. It would do so, however, without having any assurance from

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Pakistan that it would assume responsibility for its share of the Public Debt. Pakistan, on the other hand, may decide to say that it is prepared to accept joint responsibility for the present Government of India's Public Debt, or it may decide to repudiate liability for the Public Debt altogether, or it may decide just to keep quiet. If it takes the first step, nothing very much would happen except perhaps a little confusion. In the case, however, of a forthright repudiation, India would be constrained immediately to take counter-action. That would take the shape of refusal to refer any matter to the Arbitration Tribunal or to part with any assets (including any share in the cash balances) until Pakistan agreed to accept a proportionate share of the liability. If Pakistan chooses to keep silent, again India would be compelled to ask for a definite statement from Pakistan regarding its attitude towards the Public Debt and if a satisfactory reply was not forthcoming, the position would be much the same as if there had been a repudiation.

These developments would be unfortunate, the more so as I feel convinced that Mr. Jinnah has not fully appreciated (a) the consequences of not reaching an agreement, and (b) the fact that Pakistan's interests were fully safeguarded under the proposed Order. Were I not convinced of the fact that no harm whatsoever would come to Pakistan under these proposals, I would not have been so firm in my attitude towards this Order. I may add that I have just consulted again the Governor of the Reserve Bank on the question of assumption of joint financial liability and his reaction is decidedly against such a course on purely financial grounds.

Until 15 August, it is, I suggest, your duty to take whatever steps are necessary in the interests of the country as a whole, irrespective of what one party or the other may think. If either party is dissatisfied with the order you issue, it will of course be open to either party to override it in so far as its own territory is concerned. May I suggest that this is a matter of sufficient importance for you to come to an independent decision with whatever advice you can obtain from your own advisers and to issue an order immediately? This is an avoidable conflict and in my view the issue of the order in the terms proposed would safeguard the interests of both the dominions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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CHAPTER VII

ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL'S TASK

193

Federal Court
New Delhi
17 July 1947

Dear Mr. Patel,

Will you please let me have, as early as possible to this address, the name of the colleague on the Arbitration Tribunal whose name is to be put forward by you?

Yours sincerely,
S. P. Spens[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

194

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
20 July 1947

Dear Sir Patrick,

Thank you for your letter of 17 July 1947. Our nominee for the Arbitral Tribunal is the Hon'ble Mr. Justice [H. J.] Kania,[2] Judge of the Federal Court.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sir Patrick Spens, OBE
Chief Justice of India
19 Akbar Road
New Delhi

[1] Chief Justice, Federal Court of India, 1943-47; Chairman of committee to distribute assets between India and Pakistan at partition, 1947-48

[2] First Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India; appointed judge, High Court, Bombay, June 1933

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New Delhi
18 July 1947

Dear Sir Alladi Krishnaswami,

Points of difference between us and Pakistan on the question of division of assets and liabilities will have to be referred to an Arbitral Tribunal. In that case, we shall have to be represented before such Tribunal through a lawyer. We have decided that you should be our spokesman before the Tribunal. I hope you will accept it.

We are discussing important questions relating to division of assets and liabilities on Sunday at my house at 8 a.m. I hope it will be possible for you to attend the meeting. H. M. Patel, Cabinet Secretary, will send to you some notes on this subject and if you wish to discuss with him or any other officer any point arising out of those notes, please ring him up at 2310.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar
Member, Constituent Assembly
13-C Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi

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13-C Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
18 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Your letter dated 18 July. I shall be glad to appear before the Tribunal appointed to consider the points of difference between India and Pakistan on the question of division of assets and liabilities. As desired, I shall be present at your house at 8 a.m. on Sunday. After going through the notes prepared by Mr. [H. M.] Patel which I am expecting to receive, I shall, if

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necessary, ring him up for an elucidation of any of the points covered by the notes.

Yours sincerely,
A. Krishnaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

197

New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose copy of a letter from Chief Justice Kania. I should like to talk to you about this matter before sending him a reply.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

50 Ridge Road
Bombay 6
30 September 1947

My dear Panditji,

I have been reading with care the pronouncements of high officials of the Pakistan Government about the communal tension etc. You must have also read what Mr. Jinnah and his ministers said a few weeks ago about the awards of the Partition Tribunal set up for the Punjab. They described the award as "unjust, unfair and political." You know that four judges constituted that Tribunal.

When I agreed to be a member of the final Arbitral Tribunal early in August, the attitude of these people was unknown. Since then I have noted these criticisms. Several of my good friends (Justice Chagla, Setalvad, Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas[1] etc.) have pointedly drawn my attention to these

[1] Leading business man of Bombay; member of Indian Currency and Finance Commission, 1926; member, Acworth Committee on Indian Railways; President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry; member, Central Assembly and deputy leader of Independent party headed by Jinnah; delegate to Round Table Conference, 1930-33

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facts. They have taken the view that as Chief Justice of India, I should not be a member of the Tribunal. According to them, the work of the Tribunal is no longer judicial in character and therefore it is improper for me to be a member of such a Tribunal.

After giving the matter very anxious consideration I have decided to write to you now. It is not a matter of Kania the individual. The question is whether our Government should expose its Chief Justice and the awards to which he will be a party to such attacks. It appears certain that members of the Pakistan Government are not likely to respect persons. The recent attack of Sir Zafrulla Khan[1] in the USA and the appeal made by the Pakistan Government to the United Kingdom show how their mind is working. Personally I doubt if we shall be able to control their attack if any award goes against them.

I leave the matter entirely to you and Vallabhbhai for your consideration. As I have stated above, it is not a matter of the individual. The question is of the highest judicial officer of our Government. On their side they have appointed a retired judge only.

I have not written to Vallabhbhai separately. I would like you to show this letter to him and jointly do what is needful.

I can assure you that if both of you decide that I should continue, I shall do so as a matter of duty. I have written this only to bring this aspect of the matter clearly to your notice. I have not written to the Governor-General also.

I trust the situation will improve in Delhi.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. J. Kania

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New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Mr. Kania,

I have received your letter of 30 September and have shown it to Sardar Patel. Both of us appreciate what you have written and we have given considerable thought to it, both from the public point of view as well as the private.

[1] Lawyer in undivided Punjab; member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1926-35; delegate to Round Table Conferences in London; President, All-India Muslim League, 1931; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1935-41; led Pakistan delegation to UN General Assembly, 1947-49 and to Security Council, 1948-50; Foreign Minister of Pakistan; at present Judge of International Court of Justice, the Hague

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2. This question had arisen to some extent even when you were asked to join the Arbitral Tribunal. Since then the fresh development has been the criticisms of Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues of the awards of the Partition Tribunal. Those awards, as you know, are essentially one-man awards, that is, Radcliffe's. The criticism is thus of Radcliffe, though of course it includes in its scope others also.

3. We do not think that Mr. Jinnah's or anybody else's criticisms of the awards of the Partition Tribunal should make any difference to our previous decision regarding your joining the Arbitral Tribunal. Apart from the difficulties which would result from any change in the personnel of the Tribunal being made now, and these would be considerable and would delay matters greatly, any withdrawal of your name would be an improper surrender to the tactics of the Pakistan Government. This would encourage them still further.

4. We do not think that your functioning in the Arbitral Tribunal in any way comes in your way as Chief Justice of India. It is true that some of the matters that might be considered might have a political bearing but even that political bearing will be as between one State and another. You represent the Dominion of India, not in a partisan way but as a judge of high standing trying to do justice.

5. Sardar Patel and I, therefore, feel that you should continue in this Tribunal and not worry yourself about what might be said later by Mr. Jinnah or his Ministers.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. J. Kania
Chief Justice, Federal Court of India
Bombay

Copy to The Hon'ble Minister for Home, for information

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Government of India
Partition Secretariat
New Delhi
12 October 1947

My dear Sir Patrick Spens,

It has now been agreed between Mohammad Ali and myself who still constitute the Steering Committee, that we should, on

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behalf of the Partition Council, refer to the Arbitral Tribunal the issues for arbitration. In accordance with this decision, we hope to submit the references on three issues to you about the 18th of this month, the three issues being (1) division of military stores, (2) allocation of cash balances to Pakistan, and (3) the ratio in which excess of liabilities over assets should be shared between India and Pakistan. The statements of case in respect of each of these issues will be submitted to the Tribunal by the Partition Secretariat of each Government on or before 31 October. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know whether this procedure and the time-table is acceptable to the Tribunal.

It is the intention of the two Governments to present their cases before the Tribunal through their counsel. I presume the Tribunal will decide the rest of the procedure after hearing the counsel of the two Dominions.

While I was in Karachi on Thursday last, Mohammad Ali suggested that the Tribunal might establish itself wholly in Karachi. He put forward this request mainly on the ground of the serious shortage of officers in the Pakistan administration. After some discussion we agreed that the most acceptable compromise would be for the first three references which I mentioned above to be heard in Delhi, and for the second set of references to be heard in Karachi, and if any more remain they could be heard in Delhi, etc.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know how this suggestion appeals to you.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Patel

The Hon'ble Sir Patrick Spens, OBE

Copy to Deputy Prime Minister together with copy of Mr. Mohammad Ali's letter to me and my reply to him.

H. M. Patel

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ENCLOSURE

Government of India
Partition Secretariat
New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Mohammad Ali,

Please refer to your letter dated 8 October 1947, a copy of which you gave me in Karachi on Thursday. I have not yet received the original. As I mentioned to you, your suggestions for making a reference to the Arbitral Tribunal are on lines which I had already agreed to in discussion with Zahid Hussain[1] on Monday last, namely, that the references should be made by the Steering Committee on behalf of the Partition Council in the manner indicated in your paragraph 2. I write now to confirm that we further agreed in discussion on Thursday (1) that we should submit the following three references to the Tribunal not later than the 18th:

i division of military stores;
ii allocation of cash balances to Pakistan;
iii ratio in which excess of liabilities over assets should be shared between India and Pakistan,

and (2) that the statements of case in respect of these issues will be submitted by the Partition Secretariat of each Government on or before 31 October.

I shall send you telegraphically on Tuesday in draft the form in which these references might be made by us to the Tribunal and shall be glad if you will let me have telegraphically your concurrence and comments.

2. We will nominate a counsel to present our case before the Tribunal. It is not very clear what you mean by saying that no other lawyers would be allowed. It is likely that our counsel may desire to be assisted by other junior counsel, as is ordinarily the case when any important matter is argued before a court. The Arbitral Tribunal will, of course, be entitled to call any expert witness it wishes: that was one of the decisions of the Partition Council.

3. As regards the procedure before the Arbitral Tribunal, I feel that there would be distinct advantage in having this determined before the first of our references is argued before the Tribunal. This was, you will remember, my original suggestion; I still think that the procedure which the Tribunal intends

[1] Governor, State Bank of Pakistan; joined Indian Audit and Accounts Department, 1910; Financial Adviser, Supply Department in World War II; Financial Commissioner, Railways

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to follow should be settled in consultation with our respective counsel. I feel certain that this is what our counsel themselves will seek to have settled first.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Patel

Mohammad Ali, Esq.
Government of Pakistan
Cabinet Secretariat
Karachi

5200

Prime Minister's Secretariat
New Delhi
16 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Sir Patrick Spens in regard to the Arbitral Tribunal. I am sending a copy also to H. M. Patel. I suppose we should give the assurance asked for.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Council House
New Delhi
16 October 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

I have your letter of 15 October. I am afraid that it crossed my last letter to you.

I fully understand now that you would prefer that the Tribunal should adopt the alternate arrangement provisionally agreed between Mr. Patel and Mr. Mohammad Ali. If the Government of Pakistan is also agreeable to this course, as I expect they will be, I shall certainly do my best to persuade my colleagues to adopt it. I must, however, first have a clear agreement to this course from the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

I was able to discuss this Delhi-Karachi proposal with Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ismail before he left Delhi for his home on the 15th instant. He has told me that he will be willing to come back and sit in Delhi provided that very different arrangements are made for him from those which were

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made for him during the period that he was in Delhi between 15 August and 15 October. He will not be willing to return to Delhi unless

i. proper arrangements are made for his safe journey from his home at Gorakhpur to Delhi;

ii. proper accommodation and transport are provided for him in Delhi;

iii. proper security arrangements are made for his personal safety and that of his servants whilst they are in Delhi.

He insists that all these matters must be the special responsibility of the Government of India and that there must be some officer definitely appointed to make all the requisite detailed arrangements on behalf of the Government of India. I gather that Mr. H. M. Patel will be definitely given this special responsibility by your Government. May I assure the Khan Bahadur that these arrangements will be made for him and that he and the Tribunal officials can arrange the matters in detail with Mr. Patel?

I shall of course ask that exactly similar responsibility shall be undertaken by the Government of Pakistan for the Chief Justice of India and any non-Muslim staff who may go with the Tribunal to Karachi and that there too a definite officer shall be appointed on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, through whom all the details can be carried out.

I will let you know as soon as I have a reply from the Prime Minister of Pakistan confirming that they are willing to adopt the Patel-Mohammad Ali suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
S. P. Spens

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India

201

New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I thank you for your letter of 6 November about the agenda for the next Inter-Dominion Conference at Delhi. You will notice that in telegram under Item III clause (g) there is reference to disposal of stores, raw material etc. in factories belonging to non-Muslims. I am sending for your information an extract from the memoranda on items of the agenda which we are sending to the Pakistan Prime Minister. The buildings etc. of factories would of course come under immovable property. For

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the present the Custodian of Property, West Punjab, is in possession.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

TELEGRAM

5 November 1947

From Foreign New Delhi
To Punsg Lahore

FOR LIAQUATALI KHAN PRIME MINISTER PAKISTAN FROM NEOGY. YOUR TELEGRAM 18 OCTOBER. NEXT MEETING INTER-DOMINION REPRESENTATIVES AT DELHI. SUGGEST THAT WE HAVE NEXT MEETING AT DELHI ON TUESDAY 11 NOVEMBER. AGENDA ITEMS AS FOLLOWS. ONE. INSURANCE COMPANIES WHICH HAVE TRANSFERRED REGISTERED OFFICES TO INDIA. TWO. BANKS SIMILARLY SITUATED. THREE. TREATMENT OF PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND BY EVACUEES. SUB-ITEMS. A. REMOVAL OF SAFE DEPOSIT VAULTS AND CONTENTS BELONGING TO NON-MUSLIMS IN INDIA. B. OTHER MOVABLE PROPERTY. C. COTTON STOCKS AND OTHER COMMODITIES AGAINST WHICH BANKS AND OTHER PARTIES HAVE ADVANCED LOANS. D. REMOVAL OF OLD STOCKS OF COTTON COTTON SEEDS OILS AND OTHER PRODUCTS AT OPTION OF PLEDGE TO PREVENT MIXING WITH NEW CROPS AND PRODUCTS. E. STOCKS OF GRAIN SYNDICATES AND OBLIGATIONS OF GOVERNMENT IN THIS BEHALF. F. TREATMENT OF GOODS IMPORTED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES. G. DISPOSAL OF STORES RAW MATERIAL PROCESSED ARTICLES FUEL ETC. IN FACTORIES BELONGING TO NON-MUSLIMS. H. TREATMENT OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY OF NON-MUSLIMS. FOUR. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS AND POSTAL CASH CERTIFICATES AND OTHER GOVERNMENT SECURITIES. FIVE. PENSIONS TRANSFER OF PENSION ORDERS. SIX. REMOVAL AND DISPOSAL OF PRIVATE MOVABLE PROPERTY INCLUDING HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS MOTOR CARS LIBRARIES OF LAWYERS EQUIPMENT OF MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS ETC. SEVEN. PROPERTY OF TRUSTS EDUCATIONAL CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS. EIGHT. IMPLEMENTATION OF CERTAIN AGREED DECISIONS OF THE PUNJAB PARTITION COMMITTEE MADE PRIOR TO 15TH AUGUST. NINE. EXCHANGE OF UNDERTRIAL PRISONERS. TEN. JOINT EFFORT OF TWO GOVERNMENTS TO RECOVER ABDUCTED WOMEN. ELEVEN. FACILITIES FOR REMOVAL OF EAST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORDS FURNITURE EQUIPMENT ETC. FROM LAHORE. WE HOPE TO DESPATCH MEMORANDA BY THURSDAY EVENING WHICH WILL REACH YOU FRIDAY MORNING.

2. WILL BE GRATEFUL TO RECEIVE YOUR AGREEMENT ABOUT PROPOSED DATE OF MEETING.

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ENCLOSURE II

EXTRACT

ITEM III. TREATMENT OF PROPERTY LEFT BEHIND BY EVACUEES

(2) Other Movable Property

(h) If factories belonging to non-Muslim individuals and companies are leased out by or on behalf of the Pakistan Government, then stores, raw material, semi-finished and finished articles, fuel and building material lying in such factories should be valued by assessors appointed under the authority of the Government of India and payment should be made both of the value of the stocks and of the lease money. In the case of factories which have not yet been leased by the Custodian of Evacuee Property, owners should be given facilities to lease them. Where the Pakistan Government wish to take them over, stores etc., should be requisitioned a fair valuation being made.

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New Delhi
6 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

I have seen your telegram dated 5 November 1947 addressed to Liaquat Ali Khan. I notice that there is no specific reference to mills and factories of non-Muslims left in Pakistan. I suggest you might include this also in the agenda.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. G. Neogy
Minister for Refugees & Rehabilitation
New Delhi

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New Delhi
12 December 1947

My dear Shanmukham,[1]

I am going to Cuttack tomorrow morning and will not be back until the 16th morning. I shall then be going to Jaipur on the 17th and returning probably on the 19th morning. During this period, it is probable that you will receive a request for payment of a part, or the whole, of the amount of cash balances which we have agreed to allot to Pakistan. You could put off this payment on the ground that adjustment of other expenditure has yet to be made before the total amount which is now payable to Pakistan can be determined, or on the ground that I am away from Delhi and that you would like to consult me before taking any further action. In any case, I hope you will ensure that no payment is made until, after my return from tour, we have had a discussion.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty
Finance Minister
New Delhi

204

New Delhi
20 December 1947

My dear Sardar,

I enclose a copy of Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's letter to me dated 16 December 1947. Zahid Hussain also made enquiries from me regarding the payment of their share of cash balances that still remains to be given to them. I have told him that the decision of the Partition Council had not yet been communicated to the Government of India for implementation.

Yours sincerely,
R. K. Shanmukham Chetty

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] President, Central Legislative Assembly, 1933-35; first Finance Minister of free India

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ENCLOSURE

Camp: New Delhi
16 December 1947

My dear Shri Chetty,

I understand that the Dominion Government of India have agreed to pay Rs. 50 crores to the Pakistan Dominion on account of the partition of assets.

According to our claims against the West Punjab Government and the division of the securities the West Punjab Government will be debtor to the East Punjab Government and they will owe several crores to us. I would, therefore, suggest that the payment of this amount be withheld till our claims are decided and the amount is paid to us.

If the Dominion Government pays them now we do not know when will our dues be paid by them. Hon'ble Mr. Zahid Hussain, High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, is trying for the payment of money to Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

The Hon'ble Shri Shanmukham Chetty
New Delhi

205

New Delhi
22 December 1947

My dear Chetty,

Thank you for your letter dated 20 December 1947. As you know, now the Cabinet has decided that no payment should be made until the Kashmir question has been settled. I shall let you know when, in accordance with this decision, payment can be made to the Pakistan Government.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty
New Delhi

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New Delhi
21 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

In continuation of my letter of yesterday about the news item in the Dawn regarding the Boundary Commission award, I enclose a cutting from today's Dawn which gives a statement of the attitude towards the Punjab Boundary Commission of seven Muslim League leaders of the Punjab and also a reference to "hundreds of telegrams pouring in the Dawn office incessantly bearing ample testimony to the unabated fortitude and determination of the Punjab Muslims who have pledged to defend their rights to their last." The cutting speaks for itself and, therefore, I make no comments.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
23 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 21 July. I have seen the statement by seven Muslim League leaders in the Punjab, and I spoke to the Muslim League members of the Punjab Partition Committee about it, and pointed out how unhelpful statements of this kind are. One of them practically admitted that it need not be taken too seriously, and was only a counterblast to the things the Sikhs had been saying, and was intended to make the Boundary Commission realise that if pressure is to be applied it can be applied on both sides.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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CHAPTER VIII

REFUGEE RELIEF: GANDHI'S NOAKHALI MISSION

208

28 December 1946

My dear Brijmohan,

I am sending Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill[1] with a band of workers of his selection to work in Noakhali under Bapu's instructions. He and his people will be of help to the refugees who have been completely demoralised out of sheer fear. At present, we have fixed a programme of three months for their stay there, as a result of which we will be able to assess what we should do in future.

Kindly give him Rs. 35,000 on my account at present. He will require two monthly instalments—one of Rs. 25,000 on 1 February, and one on 1 March of an equal amount. But before the instalment of 1 February is due, I will send you instructions in time.

Both Ghanshyamdas[2] [Birla] and Rameshwardas[3] [Birla] have gone to Pilani, and I am going to Ahmedabad tomorrow. We will all return to Delhi on 2 January.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Brijmohandas Birla
Birla Park, Ballygunj
Calcutta

1 Served in Indian National Army under Subhas Bose; joined diplomatic service and retired as Ambassador to Mexico

2 Leading industrialist; MLA (Central), resigned in protest against legislation for imperial preference in 1930; President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, 1924; President, FICCI, 1929

3 Industrialist and business man

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New Delhi
8 January 1947

My dear Brijmohan,

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter which I wrote to you and which was given to Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill to be delivered to you. In that you will see that I have asked you to make some advances on my account in three instalments. Since then I have received instructions from Gandhiji that we should not take the responsibility of financing them and that they must make their own arrangements. In view of these instructions, you may hand over the accompanying letter to Colonel Gill, in which I have explained that as Gandhiji has asked me not to finance his work, I regret I have to cancel the arrangements.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Brijmohandas Birla
Calcutta

210

8, Royal Exchange Place
Calcutta
21 January 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I duly received your letter of 8 January. I also received your letter sent through Col. Niranjan Singh Gill. I asked him consequently to meet Bapu and have discussions. He has returned today after meeting Bapu who has advised him to take away some of the workers while some others numbering about 30 have been retained by Bapu. Consequently, I am giving him some money on your account as instructed by Bapu.

Col. Gill is meeting [H. S.] Suhrawardy [Chief Minister of Bengal] today for further discussion about his workers and then he is going back to Noakhali. I have informed him to meet you also as soon as possible.

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I hope you have fully recovered now and are keeping quite well.

With pranams,

Yours sincerely,
B. M. Birla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

211

26 January 1947

My dear Brijmohan,

I have received your letter of the 21st instant.

I am glad Colonel Gill has been able to obtain Bapu's permission and also that of Suhrawardy. The financial question has been also satisfactorily settled by Bapu's approval, and so my responsibility in that behalf has been strictly limited.

I hear you are coming here soon. More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. M. Birla
Calcutta

212

New Delhi
8 January 1947

My dear Gill,

I was told that you were coming here to see me and I thought I would explain to you personally. But you have not come since so many days, nor have you gone to deliver the letter that I have given to you for money. Since I gave you the letter, I have received instructions from Gandhiji not to undertake any financial responsibility in this matter. If Gandhiji could be persuaded to agree, I would still be willing to keep the arrangements proposed. But as I had told you from the beginning, nothing should be kept secret from him, and as he has known about it and issued instructions, I have to obey. I regret, therefore, the

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arrangements will have to be cancelled, and I have written to Brijmohanji accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill

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EXTRACTS

10 Debendra Ghose Road
Bhowanipore
Calcutta
22 January 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I have reorganised my workers and am proceeding ahead in accordance with Bapu's plans. He has honoured us by accepting my workers as a part of his own show in all respects, even financially. His objection was to spending money from the Congress or any unknown sources, since that violates his principles and interferes with the moral issue of his present work. He has authorised me to draw Rs. 16,780 to clear up till the end of this month, and thereafter the finances will be met from the public response as is the case with Satish Babuji [Satish Dasgupta] and his own workers. He has asked me to make a public appeal for funds to be sent to Satish Babu at Kazirkhil where all present and future accounts will be kept. I am doing so after my next meeting with him. If sufficient response is forthcoming, he would return the above Rs. 16,780 to Birlaji. So this is settled to his satisfaction. What is more, he wants our workers, wants them to keep him to succeed in his mission and welcomes them, provided the Bengal Ministry does not oppose. So I met Mr. Suhrawardy last night and acquainted him with the whole position. He gave a friendly talk and said he had approved of my workers, he had never opposed them nor has he heard any complaints against them. So I could carry on and Gandhiji will be very pleased to hear this. But Mr. Suhrawardy went on to say that I must go to Bihar and then meet him again, when he would be prepared to give out his heart in full, as I must work in both places impartially as that was also more or less the original basis of our first talk and start of work.

Yours affectionately,
Niranjan Singh Gill

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26 January 1947

My dear Colonel Gill,

I have received your letter of the 22nd instant today, and I am glad that you have been able to convince Gandhiji of the usefulness of your plan and he has accepted your workers, though limited in number, for his work there.

I do not know what work your volunteers can do in Bihar. There is no trouble there, and if there is any trouble it is with regard to the relief and rehabilitation of the Muslim sufferers due to the obstructionist attitude of the Muslim League which has practically taken charge of the relief operations. The Government spends money through the Muslim League, and the Muslim League volunteers do not allow the evacuees to go back to their villages or discourage them from doing so. No incident has taken place since the first week of the disturbances, and there is no question of any sense of insecurity now. However, I would have no objection to your sending your volunteers there if Gandhiji agrees. I cannot take the responsibility of doing any work in Bihar without his consent. He is sure to know about it and ask me about it, and I would have to explain. As I have told you, I keep nothing secret from him, and if you want me to finance this project you had better obtain his approval.

You are not right when you say that this work is not under Gandhiji, and therefore you can deal direct with me. He keeps his vigilant eye on the Bihar work also. You know recently the Bihar Ministry had sent a deputation to him to explain the work that they have been doing. He is in correspondence with them, and anything that happens in Bihar goes to him directly or indirectly immediately. You may, therefore, obtain his consent and I will do the needful.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Col. Niranjan Singh Gill
Calcutta

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Achint
P.O. Bankipore (Patna)
5 February 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I enclose herewith copies of letters (i) from Gandhiji to Mr. Suhrawardy, (ii) from Mr. Suhrawardy to Mr. Jafar Imam[1], MLA. This explains the present position. Gandhiji's letter was written after further talks with me so as to leave no reason for doubts now or in future.

The two letters made it compulsory for me to come here and I arrived this morning. I have already met many Muslim leaders, including Syed Abdul Aziz. They appear very keen on taking me round and are making all arrangements. Needless to say, I have no comments to make yet. I have over a dozen men and lady volunteers here but these are lying quiet yet. In all probability I have to go back to report to Gandhiji and only then launch on any work here if at all necessary. But even if no future work is to be done here the commitment here stands for this month as by the time I report to Gandhiji and finally decide about this place it will be about the end of this month and I have to keep these volunteers here till that date. I can meet the expenses of the party here including travelling etc., at a cost of Rs. 3,000. So, would you be good enough to send me a cheque for that amount at the address here earliest possible? The cheque can be made payable preferably here at Patna or at Calcutta.

As regards the work in Noakhali, line 3 of Mr. Suhrawardy's letter amounts to consent in writing. So Gandhiji can utilize my workers for as long as they are useful and I hope they will stay there till his mission succeeds.

I am almost certain when I say that I shall not call upon you for any further amounts. If there is to be no work here then with these Rs. 3,000 I will wind up the party here and meet their expenses right to their houses. If the work is to be done (with Gandhiji's approval of course) then this sum will enable me to carry on till the end of this month. . . .

[1] Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1955-63

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I myself wanted to come back after having settled it in Noakhali—but in fairness you will agree I had to come here and it would have been an unhappy way to leave this alone.

This explains the situation up to date. Will you please send me (i) the amount Rs. 3,000, (ii) any instructions regarding here at this address but earliest possible, please?

. . . I do hope Sikhs will solidly remain with the Congress. How I want to organise the Sikh youth and they are crying for it too! The rest I will reserve till our next meeting.

I do hope you have fully recovered your health.

Yours affectionately,
Niranjan Singh Gill

ENCLOSURE I

GANDHI'S LETTER TO H. S. SUHRAWARDY

Kazirkhil
Ramganj P.S.
Noakhali District
28 January 1947

Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill has told me of all the talk he had with you. He says whilst you do not mind his men working in Noakhali you would doubt his bona fides until he with his men worked in Bihar just as assiduously as in Noakhali. In the circumstances I have told him that he should first go to Bihar and work there and in order to be able to do so effectively he should take from you a note of recommendation to the leader in Bihar of the League party. Unless he is so armed, I have told him, his work might, from the League point of view, fall flat. I added that he should keep himself in touch with you regarding his work there.

As to his work in Noakhali, I have told him that, regard being had to your views as interpreted by the Sardar, he should withdraw his men from Noakhali unless you approved of his work in Noakhali. It is not enough that you tolerate his men's work. It should have your written approval. His men can only be here as accepted friends of both Hindus and Muslims. I cannot entertain them on any other terms. I have told him too that he should find financial support, not from private sources including funds at my disposal, but he should, in order to be aboveboard, depend upon open public support. Therefore I have suggested to him too that, if you approve of his activity here, you should subscribe to his appeal even if it be a token rupee. But there may be difficulty in this of which I could have no knowledge even though you might approve of his activity in Noakhali.

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ENCLOSURE II

40 Theatre Road
Calcutta
4 February 1947

My dear Jafar Imam Sahib,

You must have heard of Col. Niranjan Singh Gill of the INA. He has been recently to Noakhali with my consent for the purpose of seeing things for himself and helping in the rehabilitation and the return of Hindu refugees. He took a fairly strong contingent of Sikhs with him. I have, however, been pressing upon him that he should go to Bihar also and see things for himself and then he will realise what has taken place and then I shall be in a position to discuss with him communal disturbances and the forms that they take and what should be done to prevent them. Lest his presence be misunderstood, he has asked me to give a letter of introduction to the Muslim leaders. As his motives are purely altruistic and he is anxious to serve in the cause of humanity, I am accordingly giving him this letter and hope that you will let everybody know so that there may be no mistake or apprehension regarding his presence there. I wish also that you might give him a correct picture of what has actually taken place and even show him, if possible, some of the places where the Muslims have been murdered, particularly women and children, or where their bodies have been thrown down into the wells and so on. I think he should see for himself some visible atrocities which have been committed on women if such evidences are at present available in the hospitals or in your refugee camps.

Yours sincerely,
Shaheed Suhrawardy
(H. S. Suhrawardy)
[Chief Minister of Bengal]

Jafar Imam, Esqr.
Patna

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New Delhi
10 February 1947

My dear Colonel Gill,

I have received your letter of the 5th instant.

I have already written to you that there is no question as to the amount of money that may be required for this purpose. I can send as much as may be required, but the only question is of Gandhiji's approval, and I will send you the amount that is approved by him as soon as you get the approval. In this matter, once I have got instructions from him not to do anything without his approval, particularly in the matter of financial arrangements, I would not take the risk of going against his instructions.

I do not think you will be able to do any useful work in Bihar. The situation there is entirely different as I wrote to you in my last letter. It is, in my opinion, a waste of energy and money to send any of your people to Bihar, but if you think that it would be useful, you can do so and I will finance the scheme that may be approved by Gandhiji.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill
Patna

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Patna
12 February 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I have been rather surprised and worried at having received no answer to my last two letters. One was sent from Calcutta at the end of last month. The other from here on 5-2-47. The latter had the enclosures referred to in Gandhiji's letter, namely, copies of Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Suhrawardy's letter to Mr. Jaffar Imam, President, Bihar Muslim League. I do hope you have got those two letters. Today my messenger returned from Gandhiji's [Camp] with Gandhiji's letter

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a copy of which I enclose herewith. I think there is no doubt left now that I have to complete this delicate task thoroughly.

So, as I asked and explained in the last letter, please send back with the messenger a cheque for Rs. 3,000 payable here or at Calcutta. This is the minimum required now. Thereafter the requirements will depend upon my report and Gandhiji's decision, which then will also cover the financial aspect. At present the expenses will have to be met by this method, otherwise I will be left in the lurch here.

I am carrying on my work. Please return the bearer (Lieut. Uttam Singh, INA) earliest.

Yours affectionately,
Niranjan Singh Gill

PS.

I am keeping in full touch with Badshah Khan[1] of course.

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New Delhi
15 February 1947

My dear Colonel Gill,

I have received your letter of the 12th instant. It was delivered to me yesterday by your man. I have seen Gandhiji's letter enclosed by you along with the letter. It does not authorise me to give you any more money. I told you that I had instructions from him not to give any money without his sanction.

I had replied to both of your letters referred to in your letter of the 12th instant and posted them at the address mentioned therein. In both these letters I had made it clear that I would give any amount that may be sanctioned by Gandhiji. In this matter I can give nothing without his approval, and therefore you have only to obtain his approval if you want me to give you any money. I do not like to say 'no' in this small matter, but you will understand that it is not a question of money, but a question of principle and discipline. I cannot go against his instructions. It would create difficulties for me as well as for you. If he wanted that I should give you any more money, he would

[1] Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan: better known as 'Frontier Gandhi'; Congress leader and organiser of Khudai Khidmatgar; member, Congress Working Committee; represented Congress in negotiations with Cabinet Mission in 1946; member, Constituent Assembly; agitated for establishment of Pakhtoonistan for which he was gaoled in Pakistan; has been in self-imposed exile in Kabul for many years; visited India in 1969

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have given you a letter of instructions to Birlaji at Calcutta as he did previously.

I very much regret that I cannot accept your suggestion that Bihar work can be taken up independently by me or you. He is sure to enquire about it, or at least know about it, and he would take you to task if he found out afterwards that you had gone against his instructions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill
Patna

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TELEGRAM

5 January 1947

Dr. Khan Sahib
Chief Minister
Peshawar

HAVE BEEN RECEIVING TELEGRAMS REGARDING TENSION IN HAZARA DISTRICT. GENERAL TREND OF TELEGRAMS IS THAT MINORITIES ARE GETTING PANICKY AND THEIR LIFE AND PROPERTY ARE NOT SAFE. WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO BE INFORMED SOONEST POSSIBLE ABOUT LATEST POSITION.

VALLABHBHAI

220

TELEGRAM

Peshawar
6 January 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

REF. YOUR TELEGRAM TO DR KHANSAHIB. HAVE BEEN ON TOUR HAZARA DISTRICT. MILITARY PATROLLING AFFECTED AREAS. SECTION 144 PROMULGATED. PROMULGATION PUBLIC SAFETY ORDINANCE IS UNDER CONTEMPLATION. DR KHANSAHIB PROCEEDING HAZARA TOMORROW.

MEHRCHAND KHANNA

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6 Commissioner Road
Peshawar
29 March 1947

Respected Sardar Sahib,

I hope Dr. Khan Sahib has acquainted you with the latest situation over here. As a whole, barring Hazara district, it is not so bad. The Mullah of Manki was arrested yesterday and thank God that it went off without any incident. However, the situation is tense and we have to mobilise our resources to counteract League propaganda. In spite of the communal frenzy which the League leaders have created, the mass of the people in the rural areas are with us. At present we have 10,000 Red Shirts in Peshawar city. We have also Red Shirts in Mardan, Kohat and Bannu towns. We intend to launch a great campaign against reactionary forces. As you are aware, all this requires a lot of money which is not possible for us to raise here though we are trying our best. In this critical time we need your help more than at any time in the history of the province. Our opponents, i.e. the League organisation, have enormous funds at their disposal which they spend like water. Our cause is just and it appeals to the heart and head of the people.

Drafting large numbers of volunteers to the city means expenditure. It will be absolutely necessary to keep these volunteers at least for a couple of months for which we require several lakhs of rupees. The exact amount could not be estimated at this stage; we shall be revising our policy and tactics according to the circumstances, but roughly I feel that we shall need about three lakhs of rupees, which may be sent to us [in] 50,000 instalments at an interval of 10 days. I am writing this letter in the presence of Shri Mehrchand Khanna. You had given him a sum of Rs. 50,000 for Hazara relief. The whole of it, with your approval on the telephone, has been diverted to meet the present needs.

It is not possible to tap the Frontier Hindus and Sikhs at this juncture. In the first instance they have suffered heavily through loss of life and destruction of property. A large number have already left the province and others are in the course of

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transit. Business is at a standstill. I need not repeat once again that we are passing through a period of crisis never known in the history of the province.

Sofia sends her respects to you and Maniben.

. With kind regards,

Affectionately yours,
Saadullah[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

222

TELEGRAM

23 April 1947

Hon'ble Mehrchand Khanna
Finance Minister
Peshawar

PLEASE WIRE DETAILS CONDITION DERA ISMAIL KHAN AND STEPS TAKEN FOR GIVING RELIEF TO SUFFERERS THERE.

VALLABHBHAI

223

TELEGRAM

Peshawar
24 April 1947

Hon'ble Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM CONDITIONS ENTIRE DISTRICT DIKHAN [Dera Ismail] BAD. HINDUS HAVE SUFFERED GREAT LOSS OF PROPERTY THROUGH LOOT AND ARSON. ABOUT ONE HUNDRED KILLED AND SOME CONVERTED. EXACT CONVERSION FIGURES NOT KNOWN. ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR EVACUATION OF HINDUS FROM AFFECTED RURAL AREAS WITH HELP OF MILITARY CONSTABULARY AND POLICE. REFUGEE CAMP HAS BEEN OPENED IN TANK. NEEDFUL IS BEING DONE IN DERA ISMAIL KHAN. QAZI ATTAULLAH DR KHANSAHIB, GOVERNOR AND I HAVE ALREADY VISITED DIKHAN.

1 Saadullah Khan: Eldest son of Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of NWFP

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INSPR. GENL. POLICE LEFT FOR DIKHAN THIS MORNING. I WILL GO DIKHAN AFTER VICEROY'S VISIT. IF AIRCRAFT AVAILABLE MAY EVEN GO TOMORROW OR SATURDAY.

MEHRCHAND KHANNA

224

TELEGRAM

Peshawar
25 April 1947

Hon'ble Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

AM GOING DERA ISMAIL KHAN AFTER VICEROY'S VISIT. RS. ONE LAKH HAVE BEEN PLACED AT DISPOSAL OF DEPUTY COMMISSIONER DIKHAN FOR IMMEDIATE RELIEF WORK IN THAT DISTRICT. TWO EACH HAVE BEEN APPOINTED AS RELIEF OFFICERS ONE FOR TANK AND OTHER FOR DIKHAN. ADEQUATE PROTECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE PROTECTION RELIEF CAMPS AND EVACUATION SUFFERERS.

MEHRCHAND KHANNA

225

Viceregal Lodge
Simla
13 May 1947

Dear Miss Patel,

Knowing of your very great personal interest in the welfare of refugees in the disturbed areas I feel sure you will be glad to see the following extract from a letter from Colonel Packman, Resident of South Waziristan, who accompanied me during my tour of Dera Ismail Khan and Tank. Although doctors were already visiting the refugee centres I felt that an extension of this service to the establishment of full-time health and welfare centres in the camps would be very helpful in the prevention of epidemics, the general care of the people and the raising of morale. Colonel Packman writes:

> "As a result of the suggestions made in Her Excellency's letter full-time health clinics are being organised in each refugee centre. The idea is that each clinic should be in charge of a local medical practitioner and it is hoped that

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the refugees themselves will take the most active part in this important work. There is unlimited scope for their activity once they can be persuaded to take an interest in themselves. All the clinics will be under the general supervision of the Civil Surgeon who will coordinate their activities, wherever necessary, and arrange medical supplies etc."

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten of Burma

Miss [Maniben] Patel

226

14 May 1947

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 13 May 1947. I am glad to know that your visit resulted in the establishment of full-time health clinics in refugee camps. I fully endorse the utility of the project and congratulate you on the success achieved in pushing it through.

Yours sincerely,
Maniben Patel

Her Excellency the Viscountess
Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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New Delhi
14 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I wonder if you have noticed the last paragraph of Dawn's editorial yesterday under the heading "A Setback?". For ready reference I reproduce it below:

To those whom it may concern let us once more say this. These new-fangled ideas of provincial partition are not going to cut any ice with Muslims, whether these plans be called "national" or "notional." The proper adjective for all this partition talk is 'nonsensical', nor will Muslims stand for so-called "zonal Ministers" for the interim or any subsequent period. Every inch of the Punjab and Bengal belongs to Pakistan and shall remain in Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission's plan is dead, it is

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indeed so dead that it now stinks in Muslim nostrils. They will not touch it again even with a pair of tongs. Absolute division of India, complete and sovereign Pakistan alone can bring peace. Let not Britain play with fire and more; she has done enough of it already and sent countless thousands of Indians to that . . . from which no traveller returns. When the Quaid-i-Azam and Mr. Gandhi denounced violence "for all time" neither of them could have meant that people should stand helpless and inert even when robbers descend to rob them of what is theirs and without which life is not worth living.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
17 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 14 May. I am afraid that in a democratic country with freedom of speech, it is impossible for speakers and writers to be restrained unless they transgress any of the laws of the land, such as, for example, those relating to sedition, slander and libel.

2. I think the Dawn editorial most deplorable but I do not think Mr. Suhrawardy's statement falls into the same category.

3. However, much as one may deplore the communal propaganda which one reads, I am afraid there is nothing in the two Dawn statements you have sent me on which any action can be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
5 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please refer to your letter dated 17 May 1947.

2. You would be interested to know that the Advocate-General considers that if any action were taken under the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act of 1931 against the Dawn for its editorial entitled "A Setback?" there is more chance of it being upheld than otherwise by the High Court. I have asked for the views of the Chief Commissioner as to the action which he would recommend against the paper.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
9 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 5 June about the article in Dawn on 13 May. I note the views of the Advocate-General but would ask you to consider most carefully whether this is the right time to take any action of the kind envisaged against Dawn. Such action is bound to be publicised and cannot fail to increase the communal tension. While I fully appreciate the points you made in your original letter of 14 May, I suggest to you that in view of the announcement of 3 June, the position is really quite different now and we ought all to bend our efforts into constructive channels for the future of India.

In fact I should be most grateful if you would consult me again personally if you feel any further action is now necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
15 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have seen your Private Secretary's note on the case relating to criticism of the action of the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, which I had recorded on two files. I find that you would like to discuss it with me at our next interview which comes off on 17 May. In order to save time, I feel I should let you know other cases in which I have had to take serious objection to the Chief Commissioner's attitude or his way of administration so that you might be familiar with the background.

2. The first time that I had to take a very serious view of his attitude was when he made a reference to Government containing a sarcastic mention of my instruction that the Delhi administration should be more liberalised and asking me to issue instructions to the Provincial Congress Committee of Delhi that they and their volunteer organisations must obey the orders in force for the maintenance of peace in Delhi and not defy orders, for example, the one issued under Section 144 against the carrying of lathis and big sticks. In this case the facts were that the Congress volunteers who were engaged to keep order on the occasion of a meeting of the AICC held with the permission of the Chief Commissioner had acted on provocation from some Scheduled Caste demonstrators and the local police, despite requests from the volunteers to disperse the Scheduled Caste demonstrators who had formed an assembly contrary to the orders of the District Magistrate, looked on and did nothing.

3. The second instance was in January 1947 when while forwarding his recommendations regarding a successor to Mr. Robinson, Senior Superintendent of Police, Mr. Christie not only mentioned that he had communicated to the Government of the Punjab, without any authority from me, my views on the adjustment of over-representation of Muslims in the police force in Delhi with a view to restoring proportion more in accord with population but also made a gratuitous reference to the absence of Muslim officers at the head of the main branches of the district administration. There was no occasion for this remark at

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all because the Punjab Government had recommended only three Europeans and one Indian Christian and no Muslim.

4. During the Assembly session I noticed several cases in which the Chief Commissioner had delayed the supply of information; indeed, in some cases the replies to questions which had to be prepared after receiving material from the Chief Commissioner were submitted to me at the last minute. I then called for a statement of cases pending in the Chief Commissioner's office and noticed that there were avoidable delays in a very large number of cases.

5. Even on 2 May 1947 the Chief Commissioner referred to Government a case in which the police proposed to take action under Section 107 Cr.PC against two parties of members of the Scheduled Caste on the ground that both belonged respectively to the parties sponsored by two Hon'ble Members of the Cabinet, namely, the Law and the Labour Members. The position that the law must take its course and the authorities responsible must use their discretion in such cases irrespective of whose followers the persons concerned were, was, to my mind, so obvious as to suggest to any person with a sense of responsibility that he should take his own decision. I had to state this principle and say that a reference to the Central Government was unnecessary.

6. From the above, I am sure you will appreciate that my conclusions in regard to the Chief Commissioner were based on a careful study of his administration during the last several months.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
17 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

It has been reported to me that Mr. Randhawa made a speech at Rohtak on Sunday, 4 May, from which the following extract has been taken, as reported in the Hindustan Times of 5 May:

"Mr. M. S. Randhawa[1] said that India had many nations and certainly the Jats were a distinct entity and should have a homeland by being put

1 ICS; came into prominence as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi in 1947

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under one provincial administration. He advised Jats to learn science and develop brain power, because brute force alone was not enough in these days. He hoped that the college would soon develop into a Jat university."

2. If this report by the Hindustan Times is correct it seems to me that the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, was unwise in what he said, not only in view of the political issues now being hotly contested, but also because, as a civil servant, it is his duty to be completely impartial.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

233

New Delhi
5 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please refer to your letter dated 17 May 1947 about Randhawa's speech at Rohtak.

2. I sent for Randhawa and had a talk with him. It appears that his excursion into politics was merely incidental. He went to Rohtak to attend the annual function of the Chhotu Ram College and was asked to speak on education and agriculture. The main theme of his speech was an exhortation to the Jats to take more interest in education, particularly in sciences, and thus to come forward with other progressive communities to build up a New India. He also referred to the need for agricultural development of the Haryana area on the lines of the TVA scheme, which could only be achieved by damming river valleys for generating electricity and for irrigating the dry belt of land. It was in this context that he said that an all-round development of the Haryana area would receive an impetus if the, districts of the Punjab, Delhi and Western UP, where the Jats, Rajputs and Gujars, both Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, preponderate, are constituted into one province for administrative purposes.

3. I have no doubt whatsoever of Randhawa's bona fides, but have told him to be more careful and not to bring politics into his speeches even in such an incidental manner. I feel sure that this step would be sufficient.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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New Delhi
30 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have written to Sir Evan Jenkins. The papers speak for themselves and I need hardly make any further comments beyond stating that this admittedly high-handed action of the Deputy Commissioner has created quite a sensation among the Hindus of Gurgaon.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
30 May 1947

Dear Sir Evan Jenkins,

I am sending herewith a copy of the representation from the president of the Bar Association of Gurgaon and the Deputy Commissioner's endorsement thereunder, concerning the arrest of some leading Hindus in Gurgaon district, which were handed to me and which I have seen in original. From these papers it is quite clear that these persons have been arrested and are being kept in detention until they or someone on their behalf give the information required by the Deputy Commissioner.

2. The Defence Member and I decided late last night to visit the affected areas in Gurgaon. On the way we met the Deputy Commissioner who was returning from a patrol. I questioned him about this. He first denied that he had given such a thing in writing. I then showed him the papers. He then said he meant the note to be a reply to a private letter which he had no time to send in the usual way. I pointed out to him that the whole thing had definitely an official appearance and could not be treated as private, but he seemed quite unable to appreciate anything and was speechless. He merely explained that the peace committee had committed a breach of pledge and he wanted information as to how the incident happened. I pointed out to

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him the seriousness of the position in which he had involved himself by giving it in writing that he would release the persons if certain information were furnished to him, but he did not seem to realise it.

3. I myself feel that whatever may be the facts regarding the incident, the methods adopted by the Deputy Commissioner are indefensible and bound to react most unfavourably in the present situation in Gurgaon district. In effect the arrested persons are hostages for the supply of information which may not be in their knowledge. Failure of peace committees to maintain the peace is not an unusual occurrence. Inability to give information, howsoever valuable cannot be a bona fide justification for arrest and detention even under the special powers under which the arrests have been made.

4. The action is bound to be challenged in a court of law and will attract considerable publicity. It may conceivably have ugly consequences in the district itself. I feel that to avoid further unpleasantness of the situation and to restore confidence in the local administration, the sooner the mistake is rectified the better.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Evan Jenkins
Governor of the Punjab
Lahore

COPY OF A REPRESENTATION DATED 27-5-47 FROM THE PRESIDENT, DISTRICT BAR ASSOCIATION, GURGAON, TO THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, GURGAON

Dear Sir,

You had told me of your offer that Ch. Jugal Kishore and others who are detained in jail could see you. I hurried to the jail with your permit but the detenues had already left for the railway station on their way to Hissar. I am in a position to state that the detenues will be willing to see you provided there is an opportunity to see you. They will be leaving Rewari by the 6 p.m. train for Hissar. I request you to detain them at Rewari and that they may be immediately brought here to meet you by a special lorry. From the public as well as from the administration point of view, it is a very important matter. I am sure if they once see you, you will be satisfied on all points, and they will prove of very great help to the administration in these critical times. As I feel they will be of great real help in the maintenance of peace, I beseech you to consider my request favourably.

A. N. Sharma,
President,
District Bar Association

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PS.

I shall be prepared to pay the expenses of the lorry if so required.

A. N. Sharma

There is no need to call them back from Rewari. If anyone on behalf of some or all of them gives information concerning the Narangpur incident, my offer of release holds good.

T. Brandan,
Deputy Commissioner
27-5-1947

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Government House
Lahore
9 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 30 May which arrived only on 8 June. Letters from Delhi are now taking longer to reach Lahore than air mail letters from England.

2. The Viceroy gave me a copy of your letter and of its enclosure when I was with him in Gurgaon on 1 June, and I discussed the matter with the Deputy Commissioner. I am satisfied that the Deputy Commissioner made the arrests in good faith, and without the idea of detaining the gentlemen concerned as hostages. It was later, when he was pressed to release them, that he wrote the note to which you took exception. His line was that he had no desire to keep the gentlemen in jail and that if they could satisfy him that they were not acting prejudicially he would certainly release them.

3. I told the Deputy Commissioner that I would not interfere with his discretion. He had, I think, already released one of the five gentlemen concerned (Ch. Jugal Kishore) at the time of my visit; and I am informed that the other four have since been released.

4. There can of course be no possible objection to the validity or propriety of any order being questioned in the courts.

Yours sincerely,
Evan Jenkins

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
27 June 1947

Dear Sir Evan Jenkins,

I received your letter of 9 June 1947 some time ago, but I did not send a reply earlier mainly because I felt that it would be profitless writing to you and perhaps a needless addition to the mental strain which you are already undergoing. Moreover, my discussions with the Viceroy on this matter led me to think that some action would be taken for the transfer of Mr. Brandan. But now that the action required has been taken, I feel I should let you know what my reactions were to your letter.

2. I must frankly say that your letter grieved me and came to me as a great surprise. When I wrote to you my letter of 30 May 1947, I was in full possession of the facts and had documentary evidence to support it. It was with a full sense of responsibility that I assessed the situation and suggested the remedy. It was not one of the usual complaints to which perhaps you were accustomed in the past, and in dealing with which the attitude which you have adopted in this case was invariably the rule. It is impossible to defend the indefensible. Yet you seem to have performed that feat by placing failure to give information on the same plane as acting prejudicially. It was not the District Magistrate's case, both in writing and in conversation, that he was not prepared to release them because they were acting prejudicially. He told me himself that if they gave this information he would release them. It cannot, therefore, be a case of a hurried note which he wrote in reply to the president of the Bar Association. It was clearly and definitely a well-considered reply which reflected the District Magistrate's attitude over an appreciable period of time.

3. Para 4 of your letter seems to indicate an attitude of indifference to the case being taken to a court of law and is presumably in reply to my suggestion that, if this matter went to a court of law, there would not only be undue publicity but possible unpleasantness. If so, it is most unfair, since you knew full well that after the release of these persons, no question of reference to a law court arose.

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4. I have made no secret of my view that, if firm and resolute action were taken in time both in dealing with the situation and in dealing with Government servants who may be contributory to its worsening, the position in the Punjab could never have deteriorated to the extent it did. Brandan's case is an instance in point. From the very beginning of the trouble, he had taken a stand which was hardly conducive to the restoration of peace and confidence. He buttressed his stand by an action which was not only illegal, but was calculated to make the majority of the population hostile to him. Still he had been kept there and had been sustained, as would appear from your letter, in his attitude. I am not surprised, therefore, that the situation has not resumed normalcy. It is true that the Administration has not suffered any losses and therefore has not felt, as intimately as the people have, the consequences of continued arson, murder and loot. But those who have to count the price in terms of houses burnt, property looted or destroyed and relatives and friends massacred, can hardly be consoled by the fact that the authority of the local officials has been vindicated and their prestige maintained.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Evan Jenkins
Lahore

237

New Delhi
9 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have been receiving representations from responsible men of Gurgaon against the present Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Brandan, about whose conduct in relation to the arrest of leading Hindus of Gurgaon I had to write to Sir Evan Jenkins. I sent a copy of that letter to you. They have since been released. But this provocative conduct of his had completely destroyed the confidence of the majority community of the district in the Deputy Commissioner. His subsequent attitude and activities have, it appears, made the people completely hostile to him. Stories have gained currency that he gloats over events, probably because he is entirely out of sympathy with the scheme of transfer of power and feels that troubles such as have afflicted Gurgaon would demonstrate the utter folly and impossibility of the policy of "quit India." It is difficult to be dogmatic about

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the accuracy or otherwise of these stories, but the fact remains that they are widely believed in and are, therefore, undermining both the prestige and the position of the Deputy Commissioner.

2. In these circumstances I feel that there is no alternative but to transfer him from the district without delay. At present both communities are engaged in making vigorous preparations for a renewed offensive on a wider scale. The situation is full of very dangerous possibilities and everything should be done to relieve this tension. I understand that according to the customary methods of "warfare" in the Jat areas such situations are settled by a panchayat of both sides. I have been advising the local representatives to settle their quarrel by this means but they have been telling me that in the present atmosphere vitiated by the presence of the Deputy Commissioner such a move is impossible of success. At the same time they feel that nothing but the method of panchayat would settle it and restore the situation to normalcy. From this point of view also the transfer of the Deputy Commissioner would seem to be inevitable and I see no reason why prestige or any other factor should stand in the way of implementation of this well-considered and well-meant advice. Public opinion may or may not be reasonable, but it is sensitive and I am sure that instead of loss of prestige there would be returning confidence in fairness and impartiality if my suggestion regarding the immediate transfer of the District Magistrate were accepted. It is just possible that a catastrophe may be avoided by this transfer.

3. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to take up this matter with the Governor of the Punjab immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
2 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

In connection with the discussion at last Wednesday's Cabinet on the refugee problem and the decision that the Home Department should examine the organisation required to deal with it, I should be very grateful if you would agree to keep my

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wife in the picture generally with the various plans which may be formulated. I ask, not only because she is keenly interested in work of this type, but it is possible from her experience in many different theatres during the past war that she might be able to be of assistance to you should you so desire.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

239

New Delhi
4 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 July 1947 about the refugee organisation.

2. I fully realise how keenly interested Her Excellency is in the refugee problem and how valuable her experience and talents would be to the new organisation. But, unfortunately, we have not yet been able to get a suitable officer. All our able officers are at present engaged both here and in the Punjab in problems connected with partition. I am trying to get a suitable man, and as soon as we can find him we shall build up a suitable organisation for the purpose. As soon as this is done, we shall formulate plans, in making and implementing which I shall be most delighted to avail myself of Her Excellency's assistance. I need hardly say how grateful I am for your having raised the subject yourself and for Her Excellency's offer of assistance.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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New Delhi
7 July 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will recall that at the Cabinet meeting it was decided to set up a refugee organisation with the following functions:

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i. taking of suitable measures, such as provision of food and clothing, proper sanitation in refugee camps, etc.;

ii. study of (a) problems created by the influx of refugees, (b) difficulties experienced by them, and (c) their requirements, with a view to the taking of suitable measures to deal with these matters;

iii. co-ordination of policy in regard to the treatment of these refugees with the neighbouring States;

iv. conduct of census of refugees with a view to seeing whether they could be returned to their provinces, and if so when;

v. collection of information regarding the property in the areas left by the refugees and the steps to be taken in respect of that property.

2. It is obvious that to carry out these functions effectively, the new organisation should have the services of a senior officer at its head and, preferably, such an officer should be from the Punjab. Apart from this, I doubt whether we can get any suitable senior officer from other provinces, which all are suffering from a scarcity of experienced senior officers. The Punjab, on the other hand, will probably have a surplus of senior non-Muslim officers.

3. In these circumstances, I thought it best to look up the Punjab Civil List and have selected the following officers in order of preference:

1. Mr. C. N. Chandra, ICS, at present Financial Commissioner, Punjab
2. Mr. M. R. Bhide, ICS

4. I would be grateful if you could kindly send an urgent message to His Excellency Sir Evan Jenkins to relieve whomever of these officers he can, as soon as possible, so as to join here as the head of the refugee organisation. I know that Mr. Chandra is engaged on partition work, but it is possible that his presence would not be indispensable after about a week or so. If we can get him, so much the better, otherwise I would be quite content with securing the services of Mr. Bhide. It is essential, however, that whoever the officer is, he should join here as soon as possible, but not later than 15 July so that we can finish the survey and the statistical part of the work before the end of this month.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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TELEGRAM

9 August 1947

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Prime Minister
Pakistan
Karachi

PROCEEDING JULLUNDUR AND AMRITSAR SUNDAY 24 AUGUST. WE AND EAST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT ARE TAKING EVERY STEP TO BRING SITUATION UNDER CONTROL. MOST DISTURBING NEWS IS REACHING US FROM WEST PUNJAB WHERE SITUATION HAS BEEN RAPIDLY DETERIORATING. FULL ACCOUNT OF HAPPENINGS LAST WEEK AT GUJRANWALA AND WAZIRABAD STILL NOT KNOWN AND POSITION INSIDE LAHORE TOWN CONTINUES OBSCURE CAUSING DEEP ANXIETY. UNDERSTAND LARGE-SCALE BURNING AND DESTRUCTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY HAS TAKEN PLACE AT CHICHAWATNI, MONTGOMERY, OKARA AND PATTOKI. THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES REPORTED AT STATIONS ALONG RAEWIND MONTGOMERY RAILWAY LINE UNDER CONDITIONS OF GREATEST DANGER AND WITHOUT PROTECTION WITH SERIOUS INCIDENTS REPORTED FROM RAEWIND AND ELSEWHERE. WOULD URGE YOU AS MATTER OF HIGHEST URGENCY TO ARRANGE IMMEDIATE PROTECTION TO REFUGEES BY TROOPS IN WHICH MINORITIES CAN HAVE CONFIDENCE AND TO ASSIST EVACUATION BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS UNDER SUITABLE PROTECTION. PLEASE ALSO TAKE FIRM AND URGENT ACTION REGARDING FORCIBLE OCCUPATION OF SHOPS AND HOUSES VACATED BY PANICSTRICKEN REFUGEES. SUGGEST BOTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN GOVERNMENTS ISSUE STATEMENTS THAT PRESERVATION OF LAW AND PROPERTY WILL BE RECOGNIZED. WOULD SUGGEST FULLEST EXCHANGE OF OFFICIAL INFORMATION REGARDING PUNJAB SITUATION BETWEEN CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AS LACK OF AUTHORITATIVE NEWS CREATES SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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TELEGRAM DATED 22 AUGUST 1947 FROM MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN TO MR. NEHRU

I HAVE RECEIVED FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM PREMIER WEST PUNJAB BEGINS REFERENCE CONFERENCE AMBALA 17TH AND SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS. SITUATION HAS SERIOUSLY DETERIORATED SINCE. UNCHECKED MASS MASSACRES AND ARSON TAKING PLACE EVERYWHERE PARTICULARLY AMRITSAR JULLUNDUR HOSHIARPUR FEROZEPORE LUDHIANA DISTRICTS. MUSLIMS WEST PUNJAB IN UNSPEAKABLE AGITATION. IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CONTROL SITUATION UNLESS IMMEDIATE IMPROVEMENT IN EAST PUNJAB SITUATION. IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU PREMIER INDIA SHOULD SHIFT HIS HEADQUARTERS TO EASTERN PUNJAB. REQUEST IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION OTHERWISE WILL FACE A DISASTER UNPARALLELED IN HISTORY BOTH IN EAST AND WEST PUNJAB ENDS. THE SITUATION DESCRIBED BY PUNJAB PREMIER IS SUPPORTED BY OTHER REPORTS RECEIVED BY ME. BEST EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO KEEP SITUATION IN WEST PUNJAB UNDER CONTROL BUT UNLESS POSITION IN EAST PUNJAB IMPROVES IMMEDIATELY, SITUATION IN WEST PUNJAB LIKELY TO GO OUT OF HAND. IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE ACTION BY YOUR GOVERNMENT ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL. I BELIEVE YOUR PRESENCE IN EAST PUNJAB WILL HELP TO BRING SITUATION UNDER CONTROL. I AM SENDING MY COLLEAGUE GHAZANFARALI KHAN TO LAHORE TOMORROW TO STAY THERE AND KEEP GRIP ON THE SITUATION AND MAKE BEST EFFORTS NOT TO ALLOW CONDITIONS IN WEST PUNJAB TO DETERIORATE.

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TELEGRAM

August 1947

Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Prime Minister
Pakistan
Karachi

YOUR TELEGRAM. WEST PUNJAB PREMIER'S MESSAGE APPEARS BASED ON INCORRECT REPORTS. WE HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH

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HAPPENINGS IN EAST PUNJAB AND RECEIVING REPORTS BOTH FROM GOVERNOR AND BOUNDARY FORCE COMMANDER. THESE AGREE THAT SITUATION IMPROVING AND BEING GRADUALLY CONTROLLED. SERIOUS OCCURRENCE TOOK PLACE IN HOSHIARPUR SOME DAYS AGO. WE ARE DOING OUR UTMOST TO PUT AN END RAPIDLY TO LAWLESSNESS AND DISORDER. GOVERNOR AND MINISTERS, EAST PUNJAB, FIXED HEADQUARTERS AT JULLUNDUR TOURING DAILY SURROUNDING DISTRICTS. SARDAR BALDEV SINGH AND BRIGADIER THIMAYYA IN JULLUNDUR TODAY FOR CONFERENCE AND TOURING AFFECTED AREAS. I INTEND GOING THERE MYSELF ON SUNDAY. CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF PERSONS INCLUDING MASTER TARA SINGH AND GIANI KARTAR SINGH TOURING RURAL AREAS TO BRING PEACE. ALL THESE HAVING MARKED EFFECT. HAVE EVERY HOPE THAT WE SHALL BRING SITUATION UNDER FULL CONTROL SOON WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT'S COOPERATION IN WEST PUNJAB.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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TELEGRAM

24 August 1947

His Excellency Sir Chandulal Trivedi[1]
Governor East Punjab
Jullundur

SUSHILA NAYYAR[2] WHO WAS LEFT BY GANDHIJI AT WAH CAMP NEAR RAWALPINDI HAS SENT MESSAGE THROUGH SPECIAL MESSENGER INTIMATING THAT CONDITIONS ROUNDABOUT CAMP ARE EXTREMELY SERIOUS. IT IS COMPLETELY CUT OFF FROM OUTSIDE WORLD AND POPULATION IN NEIGHBOURHOOD IS DEFINITELY HOSTILE. SHE ALSO WRITES OF MUSLIM TROOPS AND POLICE CO-OPERATING IN DISTURBANCES. AS A RESULT REFUGEES ARE PANICSTRICKEN AND ARE IN GRAVE DANGER. NON-MUSLIM TROOPS WHICH HAD SO FAR BEEN PLACED ON DUTY NEAR CAMP ARE BEING TRANSFERRED. THIS HAS AGGRAVATED SITUATION. RATIONS ARE UNSATISFACTORY AND INADEQUATE.

1 ICS; appointed Governor, East Punjab, after partition; Chief Secretary, CP and Berar, 1937-42; Secretary to War Department, July 1942-January 1946; Governor of Orissa, May 1946-August 1947

2 Served for many years as one of Gandhi's personal aides at Sevagram Ashram, Wardha; member, Legislative Assembly of Delhi Union Territory after Independence; Minister in Government of the Territory and later Speaker of Legislative Assembly; Minister of Health under Nehru and Indira Gandhi

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IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION THEREFORE NECESSARY. AM TELEGRAPHING TO LIAQUATALI KHAN ABOUT THIS CAMP BUT WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD SEND THIS INFORMATION TO JAWAHARLAL AT AMRITSAR AND REQUEST HIM TO ARRANGE WITH GHAZANFARALI KHAN AND REPRESENTATIVES OF WEST PUNJAB FOR IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR PROPER GUARD OVER THE CAMP AND IMPROVEMENT IN RATIONS FAILING WHICH IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE FOR THEIR TRANSFER TO EAST PUNJAB. I WOULD REQUEST YOU ALSO TO TAKE SUCH IMMEDIATE ACTION AS YOU MAY CONSIDER APPROPRIATE TO THIS END. SUSHILA'S LETTER EMPHASISES NEED FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION OTHERWISE WHOLE POPULATION OF CAMP OF SOME NINE THOUSAND THREATENED WITH DESTRUCTION AND MASSACRE. WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR IMMEDIATE REPLY REGARDING ACTION TAKEN.

VALLABHBHAI

245

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
24 August 1947

Liaquat Ali Khan
Karachi

HAVE JUST HAD A SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM SUSHILA NAYYAR WHO HAD BEEN LEFT BY GANDHIJI AT NON-MUSLIM REFUGEE CAMP AT WAH NEAR RAWALPINDI THAT WHOLE CAMP PANICSTRICKEN AND IN GRAVE DANGER OF EXTINCTION OWING HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF MUSLIMS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD AND APPREHENDED PARTISANSHIP OF LOCAL TROOPS AND POLICE PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF IMPENDING WITHDRAWAL OF NONMUSLIM TROOPS WHO HAD BEEN GUARDING THE CAMP. SHE ALSO COMPLAINS OF INADEQUATE AND UNSATISFACTORY RATIONS. WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE AMONGST REFUGEES AND FOR PROPER ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING MILITARY PROTECTION AND RATIONS. WE ARE DOING OUR BEST FOR MUSLIM REFUGEE CAMPS ON THIS SIDE AND HOPE YOU WILL EXERT YOUR FULL PRESSURE TO SECURE SIMILAR TREATMENT IN WEST PUNJAB. SHOULD THERE BE ANY DIFFICULTY IN MAKING ARRANGEMENTS I WOULD SUGGEST IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRANSFER OF WHOLE CAMP TO EAST PUNJAB. AM SENDING INTIMATION TO JAWAHARLAL THROUGH TRIVEDI GOVERNOR EAST PUNJAB AND SUGGESTING HE MIGHT DISCUSS THIS QUESTION WITH GHAZANFARALI. WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR SUITABLE INSTRUCTIONS TO GHAZANFARALI

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SO THAT MATTER COULD BE SETTLED BY PERSONAL DISCUSSION OR HIS PERSONAL INTERVENTION. BEST REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Karachi
24 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MOST IMMEDIATE. YOUR MOST IMMEDIATE TELEGRAM REGARDING WAH REFUGEE CAMP. HAVE ASKED GHAZANFARALIKHAN AND PREMIER WEST PUNJAB TAKE ALL STEPS ENSURE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES.

LIAQUATALIKHAN

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TELEGRAM

Karachi
26 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MOST IMMEDIATE REFERENCE YOUR MOST IMMEDIATE TELEGRAM. FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN. BEGINS REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM NONMUSLIM REFUGEES IN WAH CAMP NEAR RAWALPINDI ARE SAFE. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN ANY TROUBLE OR COMPLAINT. RATION ARRANGEMENT MOST SATISFACTORY. GENERAL MESSERVY, COMMISSIONER RAWALPINDI, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER ATTOCK VISITED CAMP TWO DAYS AGO AND NO COMPLAINT MADE TO THEM. I HAVE TAKEN FURTHER PRECAUTION BUT COMPLAINT UTTERLY UNFOUNDED. ENDS.

LIAQUATALIKHAN

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
25 August 1947

His Highness Maharaja
Patiala Nabha Faridkot
Jind Karpurthala Malerkotla

(Repeated to Sir Chandulal Trivedi Jullundur)

HAVE JUST SEEN TRIVEDI'S TELEGRAM TO YOU. WOULD STRONGLY URGE ON YOU PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE ACTION IN PREVENTING DEPREDATION OF JATHAS FROM YOUR STATE INTO JULLUNDUR CITY AND ALL POSSIBLE SECURITY MEASURES FOR TRAINS PASSING THROUGH YOUR TERRITORY. WITHOUT FULLEST COOPERATION FROM STATES IN INDIA IT IS IMPOSSIBLE CHECK THIS GRAVE MENACE TO LAW AND ORDER AND HOPE WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR VALUABLE COOPERATION.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

249

TELEGRAM

Chail
26 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM. FOLLOWING REPLY SENT BY ME TO GOVERNOR PUNJAB. BEGINS HAVE MADE ENQUIRIES ABOUT PEOPLE FROM PATIALA RAIDING AREAS IN JULLUNDUR DIVISION. NEWS NOT CONFIRMED. ENQUIRIES PROCEEDING. MEANWHILE WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD GIVE ANY INFORMATION REGARDING ARMED GANGS FROM PATIALA. WE SHALL DO ALL WE CAN TO CONTROL SITUATION AND FULLY COOPERATE. HAVE JUST RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM PEOPLE OF LEHNA MUHABAT FEROZEPORE DISTRICT THAT SERIOUS TROUBLE EXPECTED THERE. HAVE ASKED MY PRIME MINISTER TO GET INTO TOUCH WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT. GRATEFUL SUPPLYING INTELLIG-

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ENCE REPORT AND COMPLETE INFORMATION OF HAPPENINGS IN EAST PUNJAB TO MY GOVERNMENT AS IT WILL GREATLY ASSIST ENDS. SHALL DO ALL I CAN. CLOSEST COOPERATION BETWEEN EAST PUNJAB AND PATIALA ESSENTIAL.

YADAVINDRASINGH

250

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 August 1947

His Highness Maharajadhiraj of Patiala
Chail (Simla)

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. AM TELEGRAPHING TRIVEDI ABOUT NEED FOR COOPERATION AND LIAISON.

VALLABHBHAI

251

New Delhi
25 August 1947

My dear Zahid Hussain,

I am sending herewith copy of a telegram which I have received from Trivedi and another of a telegram which Menon has sent to Nawab Gurmani, Prime Minister, Bahawalpur. I hope your Government will be able to use its good offices with Bahawalpur State in the matter. We shall all be so grateful for any help that you and your Government may be able to render.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Zahid Hussain Esqr.
High Commissioner for Pakistan in India
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Jullundur City
24 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MY PREMIER AND I HAVE READ TELEGRAMS THAT NEARLY FIFTEEN THOUSAND HINDUS ARE SURROUNDED IN BAHAWALPUR STATE. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF STEPS COULD BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE PROTECTION FOR THEM.

TRIVEDI

252

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
25 August 1947

His Excellency Sir Chandulal Trivedi
Governor East Punjab
Jullundur

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED TWENTYFOURTH REGARDING HINDUS IN BAHAWALPUR. MENON HAS SENT A PERSONAL TELEGRAM TO GURMANI ASKING HIM TO DO HIS BEST. SUGGEST IMMEDIATE LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN EAST PUNJAB AND BAHAWALPUR TO SECURE INFORMATION ABOUT THESE PERSONS ON SAME LINES AS WITH WEST PUNJAB. IF YOU AGREE YOU MAY TAKE UP MATTER DIRECT WITH BAHAWALPUR STATE AND INTIMATE TO US SO THAT WE CAN FORMALLY PRESENT PROPOSAL TO BAHAWALPUR.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Jullundur
26 August 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TELEGRAM OF 25TH REGARDING BAHAWALPUR. WOULD SUGGEST THAT S. SAMPURANSINGH DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER BE ASKED IMMEDIATELY TO TAKE THIS UP WITH BAHAWALPUR AND LET YOU AND US KNOW OUTCOME.

TRIVEDI

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 August 1947

His Excellency Sir Chandulal Trivedi
Governor East Punjab
Jullundur

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM OF TWENTYSIXTH. HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN TO ZAHID HUSSAIN TO ASSIST US. AM TELEGRAPHING TO SRIPRAKASA [Indian High Commissioner in Karachi]. HAVE SEEN PATIALA'S TELEGRAM TO YOU. FEEL THAT LIAISON WITH PATIALA WOULD BE VALUABLE.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

27 August 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

50 THOUSAND HINDUS AND SIKHS ARE DAILY BUTCHERED BY THE MILITARY AND POLICE HERE. NO HIGH COMMISSIONER CAN SAVE THEM. ALL HINDUS AND SIKHS IN WEST PUNJAB WILL BE FINISHED.

SAMPURANSINGH, DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER

256

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 August 1947

Sriprakasa
Indian High Commissioner
Lahore

HAVE RECEIVED INFORMATION THROUGH TRIVEDI THAT THOUSANDS OF HINDUS SURROUNDED IN BAHAWALPUR. PLEASE ARRANGE FOR THEIR PROTECTION AND SECURITY THROUGH PAKISTAN AUTHORITIES AT LAHORE.

VALLABHBHAI

257

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
26 August 1947

Sriprakasa
Indian High Commissioner
Lahore

REPORTS HAVE REACHED ME THAT SOME FIFTEEN THOUSAND REFUGEES ARE ISOLATED AND STRANDED IN SIALKOT AND ARE IN DANGER.

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SUGGESTION HAS BEEN MADE THAT WITH APPROPRIATE ESCORT THEY COULD BE MOVED INTO KASHMIR TERRITORY WHICH IS ONLY THREE MILES AWAY. PLEASE INVESTIGATE AND DO NEEDFUL IMMEDIATELY.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Lahore
26 August 1947

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MOST ALARMING REPORTS THROUGH RELIABLE CHANNELS AND FROM EYEWITNESSES ABOUT WHOLESALE INDISCRIMINATE MURDERS OF MUSLIMS LOOT AND ARSON IN PATIALA BETWEEN RAJPURA AND LUDHIANA AND RAJPURA AND BHATINDA. SITUATION WHOLLY OUT OF CONTROL. PLEASE MOVE AND STOP IT.

GHAZANFARALI

259

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
26 August 1947

Ghazanfaralikhan
Minister Pakistan Government
Lahore

YOUR TELEGRAM. BEFORE RECEIPT OF INFORMATION WHICH REACHED ME I HAD ALREADY TELEGRAPHED TO PATIALA. AM TELEGRAPHING AGAIN. ALSO THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM REGARDING WAH. AM GRATEFUL FOR ACTION TAKEN.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
26 August 1947

His Highness Maharaja of Patiala
Patiala

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM GHAZANFARALIKHAN BEGINS MOST ALARMING REPORTS THROUGH RELIABLE CHANNELS AND FROM EYE-WITNESSES ABOUT WHOLESALE INDISCRIMINATE MURDERS OF MUSLIMS LOOT AND ARSON IN PATIALA BETWEEN RAJPURA AND LUDHIANA AND RAJPURA AND BHATINDA. SITUATION WHOLLY OUT OF CONTROL. PLEASE MOVE AND STOP IT ENDS. WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD TAKE ALL ACTIVE MEASURES TO PROTECT MINORITIES AND CREATE CONFIDENCE IN THEM. THIS IS BOUND TO HAVE CORRESPONDING FAVOURABLE REPERCUSSIONS IN WEST PUNJAB.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Chail
27 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM. THERE HAVE BEEN ATTACKS ON TRAINS AND SOME MUSLIMS KILLED AND INJURED. INCIDENTS SCATTERED. SITUATION BEING CONTROLLED. ACTIVE MILITARY AND POLICE PATROLLING IS CONTINUING. HOPE TO HAVE EVERYTHING QUIET SHORTLY. PLEASE INFORM GHAZANFARALI ACCORDINGLY. AS REGARDS MINORITIES I HAVE ASSURED THEM MANY TIMES THAT THEIR INTERESTS WILL BE SAFEGUARDED AND THEY SHALL BE PROTECTED BUT WHAT ARE WE TO DO WITH CERTAIN PEOPLE OR GROUPS WHO ALWAYS WANT TO CREATE MISCHIEF AND WANT NOTHING SETTLED.

YADAVENDRASINGH

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TELEGRAM

Chail
27 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MY FOREIGN MINISTER SHARMA REACHING DELHI TOMORROW BY LUNCHTIME WITH A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM ME FOR YOU. GRATEFUL MEETING HIM. HE WILL CONTACT YOU ON TELEPHONE IMMEDIATELY ON ARRIVAL.

YADAVENDRASINGH

263

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
29 August 1947

His Excellency Governor of East Punjab
Jullundur

HAVE JUST SEEN FOREIGN MINISTER PATIALA. I FEEL EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND LIAISON WITH PATIALA ESSENTIAL FOR RESTORING NORMAL CONDITIONS. HAVE THEREFORE ASKED HIM TO REPRESENT TO HIS HIGHNESS THAT AN OFFICER SHOULD BE ASSIGNED TO YOUR HEADQUARTERS FOR LIAISON WORK.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

27 August 1947

From High Commissioner for India
Camp Lahore
To Home Department New Delhi

PERSONAL FOR HON'BLE SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL FROM SRI PRAKASA. NOTHING POSSIBLE THIS END REGARDING EVACUATION OF SIALKOT REFUGEES DUE TO UNHELPFUL ATTITUDE OF GENERAL REES AND WEST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT. SEE MY TELEGRAM OF 27 AUGUST TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU IN WHICH I HAVE SUGGESTED SOLICITING MILITARY AID FROM NEIGHBOURING INDIAN STATES. IF THIS PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTED KASHMIR GOVERNMENT WOULD NO DOUBT BE ABLE TO HELP.

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TELEGRAM

27 August 1947

From High Commissioner for India
Camp Lahore
To Foreign New Delhi

PERSONAL FOR PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. ATTITUDE OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION MOST UNHELPFUL. THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO DO ANYTHING. THEY ONLY SAY THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE IS BEING DONE AND REPEAT THAT CONDITIONS IN EAST ARE MUCH WORSE AND HAVE THEIR INEVITABLE REACTIONS HERE WHICH THEY CANNOT PREVENT. REES EXPECTS WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER OF SIKHS IF CONDITIONS DO NOT IMPROVE IN EAST PUNJAB IMMEDIATELY. THIS MORNING IMPORTANT CONFERENCE HELD AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE WHERE LADY MOUNTBATTEN AMRIT KAUR[1] PROVINCIAL MINISTERS GHAZANFAR ALI GOVERNOR MUDIE[2] AND MYSELF WERE PRESENT.

[1] Personal assistant to Mahatma Gandhi; Health Minister in Nehru Cabinet as representative of Christians

[2] Sir Francis Mudie: Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1945; Governor of Sind, 1946-47; Governor of West Punjab in Dominion of Pakistan, 1947-49

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MUDIE IS SENDING A NOTE WITH AMRIT KAUR. IT IS CLEAR THAT TRANSFER OF POPULATION IS INEVITABLE AND ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL IF MAJOR DISASTERS ARE TO BE AVOIDED. CHAMANLAL FEARS NOT WITHOUT REASON THAT HOLOCAUST AT SHEIKHUPURA WILL PROBABLY BE REPEATED IN MANY OTHER MOFUSSIL AREAS IN WESTERN PUNJAB AND THAT 40,000 LIVES ARE IN DANGER DURING NEXT 48 HOURS. GOVERNMENT HOUSE CONFERENCE DEFINITELY FELT THAT BOTH DOMINION GOVERNMENTS MUST EFFICIENTLY RECOGNISE THAT SUCH TRANSFER OF POPULATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE. THIS SHOULD BE PUBLISHED AND WOULD STOP INDISCRIMINATE MURDER AND ARSON. NEUTRAL ARMY SHOULD BE ON BORDER HELPING TRANSFER WHILE TROOPS SHOULD PROTECT THE MINORITY POPULATION IN VARIOUS PLACES.

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TELEGRAM

27 August 1947

From High Commissioner for India in Pakistan
Camp Lahore
To Foreign New Delhi

PERSONAL FOR PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM SRI PRAKASA HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA IN PAKISTAN, LAHORE. I HAD A LENGTHY DISCUSSION WITH GENERAL REES LAST EVENING AND AM SENDING A FULL REPORT SEPARATELY. . . . I IMPRESSED UPON HIM THE NEED FOR SPEEDY EVACUATION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF NON-MUSLIM REFUGEES COLLECTED AT VARIOUS CENTRES IN WEST PUNJAB. HE SAID THAT HE WAS DOING HIS BEST. ALL AVAILABLE TRANSPORT WAS BEING UTILISED AND PROTECTION WAS BEING AFFORDED BUT HE WITH LIMITED RESOURCES COULD NOT ENSURE SPEEDY EVACUATION OF ALL REFUGEES. HE WELCOMED SUGGESTION THAT GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SHOULD MAKE AVAILABLE NUMBER OF LORRIES AT SAY AMRITSAR AND FEROZEPORE FROM WHERE THEY WOULD BE CONVENIENTLY SENT TO REFUGEE CAMPS. I WOULD THEREFORE URGE THAT MOST IMMEDIATE STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO COLLECT TRANSPORT AT AMRITSAR AND FEROZEPORE. ON HEARING FROM YOU I WILL APPROACH REES FOR ESCORTS. REES MADE MUCH OF INSUFFICIENT TROOPS FOR TASK AHEAD. IF GOVERNMENT CANNOT SPARE ANY MORE TROOPS COULD NOT NEIGHBOURING STATES LIKE PATIALA, JAIPUR, JODHPUR BE ASKED TO OFFER SOME TROOPS FOR A WEEK OR TWO TO MEET THIS GRAVE EMERGENCY. THESE FORCES WOULD

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HAVE THEIR OWN TRANSPORT AND COULD BE PLACED AT REES DISPOSAL FOR EVACUATION OF REFUGEES FROM WEST PUNJAB. REES COULD NOT OBJECT TO THIS ASSISTANCE. A COUPLE OF BATTALIONS FROM JAMMU COULD IMMEDIATELY AFFORD PROTECTION TO REFUGEES CONCENTRATIONS AT SIALKOT GUJRANWALA WAZIRABAD. YOUR PRESENCE AT LAHORE WILL BE WELLCOMED BY MINISTERS AND I SUGGEST YOUR COMING EARLIEST POSSIBLE.

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TELEGRAM

28 August 1947

From Foreign Karachi
To Foreign New Delhi

FOLLOWING FROM PRIME MINISTER PAKISTAN FOR PRIME MINISTER INDIA REPEATED TO PAKISTAN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA NEW DELHI.

YOUR TELEGRAM REGARDING MEETING OF PAKISTAN AND INDIAN MINISTERS AT LAHORE 29TH FOLLOWED BY TOUR OF EAST AND WEST PUNJAB. HAVE ALREADY TELEGRAPHED GOVERNOR GENERAL INDIA CHAIRMAN JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL IN REPLY TO HIS TELEGRAM SUGGESTING JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL MEETING LAHORE FRIDAY 29TH AS PRELIMINARY TO MEETING. FROM THERE I WOULD PREFER YOU AND I VISIT EAST PUNJAB CENTRES AND REFUGEE CAMPS FIRST AND WEST PUNJAB CENTRES AFTERWARDS. BALDEV SINGH AND PAKISTAN MINISTER WILL VISIT WEST PUNJAB CENTRES FIRST AND EAST PUNJAB CENTRES LATER. EACH PARTY TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY ONE MINISTER FROM WEST OR EAST PUNJAB ACCORDING TO TERRITORY VISITED. AFTER TOURING WE CAN MEET LAHORE IN CONFERENCE WITH MILITARY AND TAKE DECISIONS ABOUT FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION BOTH FOR EAST AND WEST PUNJAB. WOULD BE GLAD TO GIVE FOUR OR FIVE DAYS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

2. I SHALL REACH LAHORE AT NOON ON 29TH. AS YOU MUST BE AWARE ALREADY FIXED QUAID-I-AZAM REACHING LAHORE 28TH AND STAYING FOR SOME DAYS FOR THE PURPOSE OF RESTORING PEACE AND ORDER IN THE PUNJAB. PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE ALL ARRANGEMENTS FOR YOU AND YOUR PARTY'S STAY IN LAHORE. KINDLY INTIMATE URGENTLY IF THIS ACCEPTABLE AND WIRE DIRECT TO GOVERNOR WEST PUNJAB YOUR PROGRAMME. AM INFORMING WEST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT.

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TELEGRAM

Jullundur City
2 September 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

I HAVE JUST SEEN PROCEEDINGS OF ADHOC MEETING HELD IN [G. S.] BHALJA's [Information Secretary] ROOM FOR IMPLEMENTING DECISIONS OF JOINT DEFENCE COUNCIL MEETING OF 29TH. THERE IS MUCH MISAPPREHENSION AMONGST GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OFFICERS ABOUT RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF DOMINION AND EAST PUNJAB PROVINCE. I WILL MENTION THIS TO YOU TOMORROW AT LAHORE. BUT IF YOU CONSIDER THAT I SHOULD EXPLAIN POSITION PERSONALLY TO A RESPONSIBLE OFFICER E.G. BHALJA PLEASE BRING [him] WITH YOU IN A PLANE TOMORROW. STRENGTH OF OUR PARTY NOW FOUR.

TRIVEDI

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TELEGRAM

7 September 1947

From UPAO Lucknow
To Ministry of External Affairs New Delhi

FROM PANDIT PANT[1] TO PANDIT NEHRU AND SARDAR PATEL. BEGINS PRESENT POSITION U.P. AREA BORDERING PUNJAB DEMANDS IMMEDIATELY HEAVIER MILITARY AND POLICE FORCES THAN LOCAL COMMANDERS AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE CAN ARRANGE. KINDLY INTERVENE PERSONALLY. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DRAW

[1] Minister of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1955-61; member, AICC, 1916, UP Legislative Council, 1923; member, Congress Working Committee from 1931; General Secretary, All India Parliamentary Board, 1934; elected MLA (Central), 1934 and Deputy Leader of Congress party; Premier of UP, 1937-39; member, Central Parliamentary Board and Chairman, UP Parliamentary Board; Chief Minister, UP, April 1946-January 1955; Home Minister, Government of India and Deputy Leader, Congress Parliamentary party, until death on 7 March 1961

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REINFORCEMENTS FROM SOUTHERN COMMAND ON HIGHEST PRIORITY. ALSO SUGGEST AIR TROOPING FROM PAKISTAN. SURFACE TROOPING HELD UP BY DISTURBANCES. IT ALSO INVOLVES INDIAN TROOPS IN PUNJAB IN COMMUNAL CLASHES RENDERING THEM DANGEROUSLY UNSUITABLE ON ARRIVAL HERE ENDS.

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New Delhi
13 September 1947

My dear Pantji,

With reference to your telegram to H.M. about surplus barracks for the use of refugees, I am glad to let you know that the Defence Department have at last moved in the matter and their letter dated 11 September 1947 addressed to Jha, your Chief Secretary, gives a list of the accommodation available and mentions that the Quartermaster General is issuing instructions to the local military authorities to place the building at your disposal as and when required.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
P. S. to H. M. Home

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Lucknow

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
15 September 1947

Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister
East Punjab
Jullundur

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM INDERSAIN KHOSLA JULLUNDUR CITY. BEGINS AMRITSAR POLICE REPORTS 250 NON-MUSLIM PRISONERS CENTRAL JAIL LAHORE IN DANGER BEING KILLED. SOME WERE KILLED LAST MONTH. ARRANGE AT ONCE THEIR RELEASE OR SAFE TRANSFER EAST. DELAY DANGEROUS ENDS. IF NEWS CORRECT HOPE YOU WILL TAKE NECESSARY ACTION.

VALLABHBHAI

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The Palace
Rampur State, UP
13 September 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

The Rampur Special reached Rampur this morning with over a thousand men, women and children. Their evacuation from Delhi was most orderly and uneventful, and everything passed off most satisfactorily. I know that this was all due to the powerful support which you extended to me in the matter. My people and I will be under an abiding debt of gratitude to you for your great help on this occasion. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the Chief Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, Mr. Sanjevi Pillai and Mr. Lall, Senior Supdt. of Police, for all the help which they extended to [Col. B. H.] Zaidi, my Chief Minister, during his stay in Delhi.

I would also like to take this opportunity of thanking you for the loan of two companies of the CRP. They did splendid work here and have both been returned. My appreciation of their fine work and exemplary conduct may kindly be conveyed to the OC concerned.

There was no accommodation left on the special train which I sent to bring Rampuris back home from Delhi and a few hundred people are still left there. I should like to know whether you would agree to my sending a second train to bring these people back. As on the previous occasion, it will have a military escort, consisting of 90 Gurkhas and 30 Muslims, and will remain halted at Ghaziabad. Our own lorries will collect the men from Delhi and bring them to the Special at Ghaziabad. For the work of evacuation from the various places in Delhi, I trust that Delhi police will give the help which they gave on the last occasion when under the instructions of Mr. Sanjevi Pillai four constables were spared to accompany the lorries. With the contacts already established with the authorities concerned in Delhi, and the experience gained, I think their evacuation should not take more than a day or so. If there is no objection to this, a telegram may kindly be sent to me.

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Hoping that you are keeping the best of health in spite of the great strain on you on account of the present situation in the country and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. Raza Ali Khan
[Nawab of Rampur]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
15 September 1947

Nawab of Rampur
Rampur

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR LETTER DATED 13 SEPTEMBER. I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO YOUR SENDING A SECOND TRAIN TO BRING RAMPURIS BACK.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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19 September 1947

Dear Sardarji,

The enclosed telegram from the UP Government requires immediate decision. May I have your advice?

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Lucknow
11 September 1947

Secretary
Refugees Department
New Delhi

OVER FIVE THOUSAND MUSLIM REFUGEES FROM ROHTAK AND KARNAL IN PUNJAB MOVED INTO MUZAFFARNAGAR RECENTLY AND NUMBER RAPIDLY INCREASING. THEIR PRESENCE CONSIDERED DANGER TO LAW AND ORDER. GRATEFUL IF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ARRANGE IMMEDIATE REPATRIATION OF THESE REFUGEES TO WESTERN PUNJAB. IMMEDIATE REPLY SOLICITED.

UPAO

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
20 September 1947

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier
Lucknow

NEOGY HAS BROUGHT TO MY NOTICE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S TELEGRAM DATED 11 SEPTEMBER REGARDING MUSLIM REFUGEES FROM ROHTAK AND KARNAL. YOU SHOULD TAKE IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE ACTION TO SEND THEM BACK AND TO KEEP OUT FURTHER INFLUX. WE SHOULD LIKE TO AVOID ANY FURTHER INFILTRATION OF REFUGEE PROBLEM IN UP. QUESTION OF REPATRIATION IS BEING TAKEN UP WITH EAST PUNJAB BUT NOT HOPEFUL OF EARLY ACHIEVEMENT. REFUGEES IN AMBALA HAVE NOT MOVED UP.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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Government House
Calcutta
23 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This is again to repeat my earnest entreaty that no refugees should be sent to Bengal, either West or East, and whatever has to be done should be done elsewhere. I am not, I hope, making a nuisance of myself when your resources are so sorely tried.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing for your information copies of the telegrams which I have issued to the Prime Minister of East Punjab and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding arrangements for the protection of refugee trains.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

From Home in New Delhi 22 September 1947
To Chief Sec. East Punjab Government Jullundur

FROM SARDAR PATEL TO GOPICHAND BHARGAVA. BEGINS IT IS ESSENTIAL TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR STOPPING CONTINUING ATTACKS ON REFUGEE TRAINS 268

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PASSING THROUGH EAST PUNJAB. I STRONGLY URGE THAT FOLLOWING MEASURES BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH VILLAGE FOR PROTECTION AND SAFETY OF TRACK LYING WITHIN ITS AREA SHOULD BE IMPRESSED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS ON VILLAGERS. VILLAGE PATROLS SHOULD BE ORGANISED IMMEDIATELY FOR DAY AND NIGHT WATCH. GENERAL WARNING SHOULD ALSO BE ISSUED THAT COLLECTIVE FINES WILL BE IMPOSED ON VILLAGES WITHIN WHOSE AREA DAMAGE TO TRACK OR ATTACK ON TRAIN OCCURS. FINES SHOULD ALSO BE ACTUALLY IMPOSED AFTER EVERY ATTACK. IMMEDIATELY AFTER AN ATTACK ORIGIN OF JATHAS SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED AND TRACED BY IDENTIFICATION OF THE DEAD AND INTERROGATION OF WOUNDED. INFORMATION REGARDING THE ORGANISATION OF ATTACKING JATHAS AND MEN BEHIND THEM SHOULD BE AVAILABLE BY THIS MEANS. 2. VILLAGE PATROLS WERE ORGANISED AND COLLECTIVE FINES IMPOSED ON SIMILAR LINES IN 1942 DISTURBANCES. THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN IN FIRST INSTANCE ON DANGER SPOTS ON RAILWAY LINE OF WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT PRESUMABLY HAVE ALREADY SOME INFORMATION ENDS.

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Government House
New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

The United Council for Relief and Welfare have now appointed a finance sub-committee with Sir Shri Ram and Mr. G. D. Birla as members and Mr. K. Sanjiva Rao as honorary treasurer. I enclose for your information a copy of the minutes of the first meeting of this sub-committee held here on the 24th.

You will notice from the minutes that our assets now are Rs. 85,205 (including the Government grant of Rs. 50,000 and promises of Rs. 30,000) and that sanction for payment of Rs. 40,000 has been made.

You will remember the conversation which you, the Prime Minister, my husband and I had over the question of an appeal for funds in the name of this Council, and your own strong views, which were also shared by Gandhiji, that it is not the appropriate moment for an appeal of this kind to be made. You will remember also that you were kind enough to say that it will be possible for you to make available to the Council out of funds at your disposal and if necessary from other Government sources, adequate finance for the present emergency work of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. I conveyed these views both to our council and executive committee and we were

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all naturally in agreement that we should accept your guidance regarding the proposed appeal, although it might be necessary at a later date and at a more propitious moment to reconsider the question.

The finance sub-committee, at its meeting, asked me to approach you for a lump sum of Rs. 2 lakhs for the immediate work of the various constituent bodies affiliated to the council. For your information, I attach a list of these organisations which are already represented on the council, although there are others who, I understand, are anxious to apply in the next few days.

I imagine it will be your wish, when adequate monies are put at the disposal of the council, that we should make ourselves responsible for financing units like the Friends Service (Mr. Alexander's workers) and the work of the Central Congress Relief Committee and Kasturba Workers undertaken by Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani[1] and her colleagues in the present emergency in Delhi. I understand that as far as the Friends Service Unit is concerned, both their fares out to India and the expenses for the relief work done by them were guaranteed by Mahatma Gandhi and yourself. I would suggest that the council should be authorised to take on this responsibility in the future, exclusive of the fares of the members out to India which had of course been guaranteed before the formation of the council.

In the same way, I understand that Mrs. Kripalani's work through the Central Congress Relief Committee and Kasturba Workers had also been guaranteed the necessary finance, but I imagine you will wish likewise to make us responsible for this to avoid any overlapping.

I would be most grateful if you would be kind enough to give this matter your consideration. You may rest assured that the council will ensure everything within their power to afford the necessary assistance and finance to those organisations and people who are making such fine contributions in connection with relief and welfare work in this present serious emergency.

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Wife of Acharya J. B. Kripalani; lecturer, Banaras Hindu University, 1931-39; member, CA, 1946; member, CWC, 1950-52; Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Chief Minister UP, October 1963-March 1967

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New Delhi
28 September 1947

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 25 September 1947 regarding the grant of Rs. 2 lakhs for the immediate work of the United Council for Relief and Welfare.

The Punjab Relief Fund which I sponsored in March last is earmarked for the relief of refugees from the Frontier and the Punjab. It will not be possible for me, therefore, to give any grant for refugees from other provinces or from Delhi itself. Out of this fund, I have already sanctioned Rs. 75,000 to the Congress Central Relief Committee for running refugee camps of the Frontier and Punjab refugees in Delhi. If your council requires any assistance from this fund for the purpose which I have mentioned above, I should be very willing indeed to make an appropriate grant out of these funds. But if your council requires assistance for any other work, I am afraid it will have to come out of Government finances. For this purpose, I shall have to write to the Minister for Refugees, whose responsibility it will be to sanction grants to your council.

To enable me to take up this question further, I would therefore request you to let me have some rough details of the expenditure which you propose to undertake out of such funds as I am able to place at your disposal out of the Punjab Relief Fund and of the expenditure which you propose to incur and which would have, in the circumstances explained above, to be met by Government.

In so far as expenditure out of the Punjab Relief Fund is concerned, I shall require subsequently details of actual expenditure. I presume the expenditure would be audited in accordance with the usual practice. I might explain that the Congress Central Relief Committee, to whom I have made a grant of Rs. 75,000, have undertaken to do it, though I have not yet received any details so far. As regards expenditure met out of Government funds, according to the usual practice followed, a statement of audited expenditure would probably be necessary,

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but this matter can be covered by the arrangements which might be settled subsequently with the Ministry for Refugees.

As regards Friends Service Unit I am not aware of the actual terms governing their work. I merely invited Horace Alexander and his Unit because I received a request from Jawaharlal to do so. Jawaharlal, I think, wrote a letter to them, and I don't know whether that contained any guarantee to which you refer; nor am I aware of any guarantee that might have been given to them by Gandhiji. But any guarantees given will be honoured by Government.

As regards the Congress Central Relief Committee and Kasturba Workers, if they get affiliated to your organisation, they will have to be assisted by whatever funds are placed at your disposal and their independent contact with me or Government in the matter of funds would cease.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. The Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma

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Government House
New Delhi
2 October 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you so much for your letter of 28 September regarding the United Council for Relief and Welfare application for a grant of Rs. 2 lakhs for relief work.

I quite understand that the fund at your disposal is earmarked for the relief of refugees from the Frontier and the Punjab and that monies required for such work amongst refugees other than from those areas would have to come from Government or other sources.

As you know, the field of UCRW work covers refugees from the Frontier and the Punjab, including those in Delhi and other areas. It is apparent therefore that it would be quite correct for the Council to make an application for funds from the Punjab Relief Fund for this purpose.

Relief work is, however, being undertaken amongst other refugees and, as you point out, it would therefore be necessary

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for the council to receive financial help for this category of refugees from Government or other sources.

I am asking the various constituent bodies of the UCRW to submit to the council rough estimates of their anticipated expenses covering a period of three or six months. So far as the council itself is concerned, I am arranging for a budget to be prepared, in consultation with our vice-chairman and the finance sub-committee, to cover expenses such as transport, medical supplies, etc.

At the very outset of the council work we all agreed that it would obviously be necessary to have audited accounts submitted according to the usual practice. We are suggesting to the constituent bodies that any grants made to them should be audited by their own nominees and that monies expended on behalf of the council as such should be the responsibility of the council's auditors who are being nominated by the finance sub-committee at an early date.

As soon as the different budget figures are collected, I will write to you again in the matter and will hope to have your help in obtaining the necessary funds for our work.

I am arranging to see Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani personally to discuss various points connected with the Congress Central Relief Committee and Kasturba Workers and her expenses. Likewise, I will discuss with Mr. Horace Alexander financial points with regard to the Friends Service Unit.

Thank you so much for your prompt and helpful reply, particularly at this busy moment.

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
2 October 1947

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

I am writing in continuation of my letter of 28 September 1947 regarding the grant of Rs. 2 lakhs for the immediate work of the United Council for Relief and Welfare.

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Since then, I have had a windfall, and out of the amount which I have received, I send herewith a crossed cheque for Rs. 2 lakhs (Rupees two lakhs only) for your council. I am very glad indeed that I have been able to meet unconditionally the demand of your council for funds. The contribution received by me imposes no territorial or communal restriction and hence I am able to meet with your requirements without any difficulty.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. the Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Since dictating the letter of 2 October your kind note written the same day has reached me, with the cheque for Rs. 2 lakhs for the immediate work of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. You may imagine how welcome these monies are for our immediate needs and I note that you say these can be used for relief work unconditionally and without any imposition of territory or community.

Our immediate request to you has therefore been met, but in spite of this, I thought I would let the letter I dictated go to you as it answers a number of questions you raised and may be useful both to you and us when the council has to explore the possibility of obtaining further funds.

I know how grateful all those working under the auspices of the United Council for Relief and Welfare will be to you for your very prompt and very welcome assistance. The official receipt for your cheque will be forwarded to you in due course by the hony. treasurer.

May there be future windfalls of this kind!

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
5 October 1947

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letters of 2 and 3 October 1947. I think the procedure which you have indicated in regard to the work of your council and constituent units is generally on the right lines. I can assure you that I shall do all I can to facilitate the work of your council.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. The Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
26 September 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I send you a copy of a letter which I have just received which is self-explanatory.

The leader of the deputation in question met me when I was visiting Dalmia Jain Camp a few days ago to see the refugees a large number of whom came from the Frontier Province and some from Bannu itself. They were, of course, extremely exercised as to the position of the large number of Hindu-Sikh minorities in that area, who they asserted were probably very much larger in number than officially reported.

I did mention this matter both to the Prime Minister and to my husband but as I have now received this letter, I felt I should pass it on to someone like yourself, although doubtless you will have already had this information and have probably taken the necessary steps to deal with it.

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
22 September 1947

H.E. Lady Mountbatten
New Delhi

Your Excellency,

I thank you very [much] on behalf of Bannu (NWFP) and Miranshah (Tochi Agency) for your kind interview in Dalmia Jain place opposite railway station, Delhi, on 19-9-47 morning and your patient hearing to the deputationists.

The committee hopes and believes that some arrangements for the immediate protection of Hindu-Sikh minorities up there by the Armed Forces of Indian Union with adequate rations must have been made and orders issued.

The committee once again strongly stresses that Bannu is in a peculiar and critical situation with tribal territory at 6 miles. It may be clearly noted that the tribal people have their own factories making guns, pistols and other ammunitions and once the trouble starts it will hardly take a day to finish the entire population and the Indian Union will then have no time to help.

It is further requested that it should be ensured that the above arrangements for immediate protection are carried out otherwise immediate orders issued.

Evacuation by rail and road be started immediately.

Thanking you,

Yours very truly,
Piyara Lal Adlakha,
Secretary,
Bannu & Miranshah Protection &
Evacuation Committee,
Premnagar, Dehra Dun, UP

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New Delhi
26 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending you herewith copy of a reply which I have received from HH the Maharaja of Patiala to my telegram regarding measures against attacks by jathas [organised bands] on refugee trains.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM DATED 24 SEPTEMBER 1947 FROM MAHARAJA OF PATIALA TO SARDAR PATEL

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 23RD. I AND MY GOVERNMENT FULLY ALIVE TO THE NECESSITY OF STOPPING ATTACKS ON MUSLIM REFUGEES AND TAKING ALL NECESSARY MEASURES. ORDINANCE BANNING ASSEMBLY OF MORE THAN FIVE ARMED PERSONS BEING ISSUED. MEASURES ALSO BEING TAKEN TO ENFORCE COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY ON VILLAGERS THROUGH OR NEAR WHICH RAILWAY TRACKS. AM TAKING EFFECTIVE STEPS AND POLICE PATROL BEING STRENGTHENED NEAR RAILWAY AREAS. AM ALSO SENDING ROUND PROMINENT PUBLIC MEN TO DISSUADE PEOPLE FROM ADOPTING RETALIATORY MEASURES AND INDULGING IN LAWLESSNESS. DUE PUBLICITY BEING GIVEN TO THESE MEASURES AND LEAFLETS BEING DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE STATE. DUAL CONTROL OVER RAILWAY LANDS OWING TO CONTINUANCE OF EXISTING POLICING ARRANGEMENTS RENDERS OUR MEASURES LESS EFFECTIVE IN RAILWAY TERRITORIES. CONSTANT REPORTS REGARDING REPEATED ATTACKS ON NON-MUSLIM REFUGEES IN WEST PUNJAB PROVOKE RETALIATION AND ARE MAIN PERTURBING FACTORS. TRUST EFFECTIVE PREVENTIVE MEASURES BEING TAKEN AGAINST ATTACKS ON NON-MUSLIM REFUGEES FROM WEST PUNJAB. ASSURE YOU OF MY FULLEST CO-OPERATION AND SUPPORT IN ALL MEASURES FOR RESTORATION OF LAW AND ORDER. WE ARE DOING OUR BEST AND HOPE THERE WILL SOON BE DEFINITE IMPROVEMENT IN THE SITUATION.

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COPY OF A REPORT DATED 29-9-47 FROM A DEPUTY SUPDT. OF POLICE

The source who had gone to gather information about the happenings in the West Punjab has returned to Delhi. He has imparted the following information:

1. that the whole of the West Punjab is in the grip of complete lawlessness, and that the Muslim goondas, who are being backed by the Pakistan police and military, are the virtual rulers;
2. that even the magistracy and the police are forcing the non-Muslims to quit the West Punjab;
3. that the non-Muslims are being openly told that all their property belongs to the Muslims and they are not allowed to remove their valuable articles;
4. that armed Afridis, and other tribesmen (about 5,000) have reached Lahore and the neighbouring districts, and that they are also taking part in the killing and looting of the non-Muslims;
5. that military training is being imparted to all able bodied Muslims;
6. that several factories for the manufacture of unlicensed arms have sprung up. He has particularly named one Abdul Karim of Qilla Gujjar Singh, Lahore, who, he states, has opened a very big factory for the manufacture of guns and rifles at Lahore;
7. that the Mullas and leaders are inciting hatred against the non-Muslims, particularly against the Sikhs, and are preaching the masses to organise and be ready for the conquest of the Indian Dominion. The slogan one now often hears in Pakistan is as follows:

   Hans ke liya tha Pakistan
   Lar ke lainge Hindustan;

8. that there is a common belief in the West Punjab that India is disorganised and that they want to take advantage of it if possible;
9. according to him, the Members of the Pakistan Government are preaching what the world likes them to do, but are secretly doing what the Mullas, communal leaders and the masses are forcing them to do;
10. as regards the killing of the non-Muslims in the West Punjab, he says that according to the information gathered by him till 25-9-47 about 1,98,000 non-Muslims had been killed, 1,00,000 converted to Islam,

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12,000 women abducted, and that there are still about 10 lakh non-Muslims who wish to be evacuated to India.

Forwarded for information.

M. K. Sinha
Deputy Director(A)
[Intelligence Bureau]

1-10-47

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Camp New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear G.M.,[1]

I herewith attach a copy of the letter I have written to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. As Liaquat could not reply to my letters since he left Delhi, I am enclosing a copy to you also to make a sincere effort, in the interest of the minority provinces, to get such declarations as I have suggested in my letter to the Prime Minister [of] Pakistan in a most unequivocal terms. You can show this copy of my letter to the Prime Minister and to the Quaid-i-Azam, if necessary. What I wrote to Liaquat is not against the policy of Pakistan, but it should be made clear. For instance, the Prime Minister [of Sind], Mr. Khuhro,[2] in one of his speeches said something about Islamic States. They should be advised not to speak in these terms.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Ahmad Said
[Nawab of Chhatari]

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad
Finance Minister
Karachi

1 Ghulam Mohammad: Finance Minister of Pakistan and later Governor-General of Pakistan

2 Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro: Muslim Leaguer charged with murder of Allah Bux, Premier of Sind, but acquitted on final appeal; opposed "intrusion" of Punjabis into Sind politics and championed Sind for Sindhis; Premier of Sind after partition

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New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I understand that instructions have issued from your secretariat to the Railway Board to the effect that immediate action should be taken to evacuate Muslim refugees in Kalka even at the cost of restricting train service from Delhi for a few days.

You will recall that the Emergency Committee deliberately and repeatedly emphasised that Delhi must have the first priority in the matter of evacuation of Muslim refugees. I have had protests on this decision from various quarters, including His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, but I have been able to scotch all protests on the basis of this decision. If any deviation in this plan takes place, it would not only delay the departure of refugees from Delhi and consequently continue our burden longer but would also set in motion various competing demands from other places for priority at the cost of Delhi.

I would, therefore, urge that the priority as settled by the Emergency Committee should be honoured and that no diversion of trains from Delhi should be permitted.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of 15 October about the evacuation of Muslim refugees from Kalka.

2. I received an urgent message from Amrit Kaur from Simla by telephone that 8,500 Muslims, who had been evacuated from Simla, were lying in an open space in Kalka in a very bad condition

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and must be removed immediately to Lahore. Most of these people belonged to middle-class families. They had been deprived of their luggage and were in a precarious condition in the open as it was cold at night. There were practically no arrangements for them. The message was an urgent one and Amrit Kaur wanted action to be taken immediately.

3. I discussed this matter with Neogy, Neelakantan and Bucher. I was told that this could be done fairly easily in two or three days' time without very much dislocation of other arrangements except that possibly one additional train out of the several that we were sending from Delhi might have to be delayed by a day or so. There was no lack of trains. The question was really one of escort. In effect, the Delhi evacuation was not affected much by it though perhaps there might have been a day's delay in one of the trains. It seemed to all of us that in view of Amrit Kaur's message something should be done immediately about Kalka.

4. I do not know what has been done since then. But I imagine that the Kalka people have been sent away.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
23 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have seen the telegram of the Deputy High Commissioner, Peshawar, dated 20 October 1947 [see following].

It seems that persons going from Peshawar are being allowed only a restricted quantity of luggage, whereas from this side we are allowing Muslim refugees practically to take everything that they can. I suggest that the attention of the Pakistan Government may be drawn to this fact and they may be told that if any restrictions are imposed (such as have been suggested) by the Government of the NWFP we shall be forced to take similar action on this side.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM FROM INDIAN DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER, PESHAWAR

REFUGEE TRAINS LEAVING NOWSHERA FOR WAH ON 21ST AND PESHAWAR FOR WAH ON 23RD AND 24TH. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT INTEND TO RESTRICT QUANTITY OF LUGGAGE PRESUMABLY TO ALLOW FOR MORE ACCOMMODATION. REFUGEES GREATLY PERTURBED AND I AM APPROACHING PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WITH SUGGESTIONS OUTLINED BELOW.

PROPERTY TAKEN OVER FROM EACH REFUGEE SHOULD BE LISTED IN TRIPLICATE. ONE COPY TO BE REGISTERED IN THIS OFFICE. ONE COPY TO BE REGISTERED WITH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND THE THIRD TO BE MADE OVER TO REFUGEE. A CONSOLIDATED LIST COULD BE PREPARED BY US LATER WHICH COULD BE FORWARDED TO CUSTODIAN OF PROPERTY DELHI WHO IN CONSULTATION WITH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT COULD ARRANGE FOR TRANSPORT OF PROPERTY TO DELHI FROM VARIOUS CENTRES IN NWFP, AND FOR SAFE CUSTODY PENDING DELIVERY. WE ARE PRESSING PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TO BRING THIS PROCEDURE INTO IMMEDIATE EFFECT. GRATEFUL FOR ANY SUGGESTION.

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New Delhi
25 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am enclosing copy of a letter received by me from Miss Mridulaben Sarabhai.[1] As the letter raises an important issue, viz., the transfer of a considerable number of Muslims from a district in East Punjab to Delhi, I should be grateful if you kindly let me have your views in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Member of family of textile magnates of Ahmedabad; twice General Secretary of Congress under Nehru's presidentship; close associate of Sheikh Abdullah

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ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM MRIDULA SARABHAI'S LETTER DATED 22-11-47 TO SHRI K. C. NEOGY

I met Maulana Haqim Sharifuddin Sahib, care of Gali Talin Nawab Darwaja, Karnal, of the Jammiat-Ulema. He wants to collect his workers and supporters from Karnal dist. and bring them to Delhi for rehabilitation in places where they have relatives or friends. He would like to have a truck and an escort at his disposal. This I think is not difficult to do and therefore I have promised him to do so within four days.

It is difficult to say what their number will be, but is expected to be between 20,000 and 30,000 or even more. The Government of India will have to start a special camp for them in Karnal.

Yours sincerely,
Mridula Sarabhai

Copy to:
Bapu
Jawaharlalji
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Sahib
Gopalaswamiji

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New Delhi
27 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter dated 25 November 1947. The present policy of Government is quite clear. It is definitely against the influx of any refugees whatsoever from anywhere to Delhi. It is, therefore, out of the question for us to facilitate any influx of refugees. In my view, therefore, we should have nothing to do with the attempts on the part of Maulana Haqim Sharifuddin to collect his followers in this city.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri K. C. Neogy
Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
14 September 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

I enclose copy of the letter, as promised, in reply to the one which the Prime Minister wrote to me as a result of the questions which were put to him at the Press conference by British and American correspondents.

I hope you agree with the views which I have expressed and know I need not assure you that I have only the good of the Government at heart.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

14 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal Nehru,

Thank you for your letter about censorship.

I must say the present position seems to be somewhat ambiguous, and I would suggest that in view of the tremendous importance of good relations between the Government and the Press—both Indian and foreign—it would be wise to clear up the censorship position beyond any possibility of doubt.

As far as Norman Cliff is concerned, I understand that his own message was not actually stopped but that the telegraph clerk informed him that he had that day received new instructions that all cables, including foreign, were to be scrutinised, and if anything objectionable found in them, were to be submitted to the District Magistrate. I understand that Cliff has spoken to Sardar Patel, who has said that the clerk was acting beyond his powers and that the Telegraph Act only applies to censorship of internal telegrams and not to those that are being sent abroad. Some correspondents, I understand, doubt whether the Telegraph Act bears this limiting interpretation, and in any case its possible use on internal traffic might involve the correspondents of an Indian or foreign news agency or paper trying to pass a message from one part of India to another.

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I have been looking up censorship in the dictionary, where it is described as "a regulation by which books and newspapers must be examined and approved by public officers before publication." As telegrams are virtually the only means by which foreign, or indeed Indian, correspondents can transmit their reports to their newspapers, I should have thought that this Act undoubtedly gives the Government powers of censorship.

When I spoke to Mr. Krishna Prasada (Communications Secretary) this morning, he seemed to be under the impression that the telegraph official who stopped Norman Cliff's cable acted wrongly in telling Cliff that he proposed to do so, but would have been in order if he had in fact submitted the telegram to the District Magistrate without telling Cliff, and this latter act would not have amounted to censorship. Mr. Krishna Prasada's suggestion that correspondents should not be told that their material is going to be scrutinised by District Magistrates is extremely dangerous, and must ultimately lead to a major showdown between the Government and the Press.

If Government policy is that there should be no censorship, it would seem that the Telegraph Act needs to be repealed or at the very least that instructions should be issued that it is not to be implemented, and these instructions made known to the correspondents. If, on the other hand, there is to be censorship, then the question arises whether it is to be military or political censorship and who is to impose it. Military censorship follows certain well prescribed lines—the banning of references to place names, numbers of casualties, etc., which may affect the security of military forces on operations. Political censorship involves the stopping of news which the Government feels to be obnoxious or inaccurate. It would be virtually impossible to set a limit to the Government's discretion in the matter.

With regard to the present situation, I feel it would be impossible to impose censorship conditions which could be regarded or would be accepted by the Press as being purely military. If the complaint is primarily about inaccuracy, the best solution, I am sure, is to increase the amount of factual background for the Press, and to maintain as much personal contact as possible with correspondents. This has certainly always been my own experience, even under war conditions.

If you agree, I propose that an Indian officer should give the reports in the Map Room, which should previously be passed by the Ministry of Information, and that a daily summary should be issued under the aegis of the Ministry and that General Rees' activities will in future be limited to a weekly survey.

I have had a discussion with the Deputy Prime Minister on the whole subject and told him I would answer your letter direct and send him a copy of the reply.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
15 September 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 14 September in regard to censorship of Press messages. As I have already informed you, there is no desire on our part to have any censorship, more especially of foreign messages. I entirely agree with you that any censorship, at the present moment, would defeat its own purpose and do us harm.

It is a fact, however, that most inaccurate and alarmist telegrams are sent by individuals to the Press and officers of Government. It is also true that many of the messages sent by foreign correspondents have been equally inaccurate and sometimes tendentious. I have just seen a bunch of clippings from the foreign Press which give these messages.

Nevertheless, I am quite clear that there should be no censorship of the Press, and that it would be better for us to proceed on the lines suggested by you. The Telegraph Act may or may not be kept; it is a relatively unimportant measure and I do not think it comes in our way at all at present. This would hardly be the time to undertake a repeal or amendment of it.

In view of the fact, however, that some instructions were issued by our Communications Department, I am making it clear to that department that no messages from accredited Press correspondents should be stopped or censored. I imagine this will be enough to meet the difficulty that has arisen.

I note what you say, that an Indian officer should give reports in the Map Room. I think this would be the proper way of dealing with this matter. General Rees will give a weekly survey.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

Copy forwarded to:

1. The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
   Minister for Communications

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New Delhi
24 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I would invite your attention to para 2 of S. No. 1 in the attached papers and 'A' of its enclosure. I feel that before anything further was done on this representation of the American Embassy, the I. & B. Ministry should have been consulted. I also feel that the comment on the activities of the European Press correspondents is a just and fair one. It cannot certainly be called 'mischievous', the term which has been used by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai in his reply to Mr. Grady. We have collected several despatches which would amply bear out the charge made against the foreign Press correspondents.

I do not wish to comment on the file, but I thought I would let you have my views so that you can talk the matter over with Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

I note we have all three received identical letters from Mr. Walter J. Mason of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in India, in which he reports the formation of a special committee of five who would like to take up with us the question of restrictions from which they claim the foreign Press are suffering in India.

As you both know, I am anxious that India shall continue to stand high in international prestige and opinion, particularly vis-a-vis Pakistan, and I therefore feel it is important that we should meet this committee in the near future and hear what they have

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to say and then deal with the matter as you both may deem fit. I suggest, if convenient to you both, that we should meet the committee at 10 a.m. on Saturday at Government House.

I propose to answer Mr. Mason as in the attached draft letter, and would be grateful if your Private Secretary could telephone my Private Secretary to say if you agree with this draft or wish it altered.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Prime Minister.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Government House

I have been in consultation with the Prime Minister and the Minister for Information and Broadcasting concerning the letter which you have sent to us three, and we gladly agree to meeting your committee of five at 10 a.m. at Government House on Saturday, 30 September.

Mr. Walter J. Mason

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New Delhi
1 October 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am sending you herewith an extract from a despatch of the correspondent of the Daily Telegraph at Karachi. I do not mind so much the obvious biased tone of the despatch as the correspondent's assertion that Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck[1] subscribes to the view that refugee traffic could be possibly resumed in both directions if the Sikhs of the East Punjab and the Sikh States could be effectively disarmed. I am writing separately to Sir Claude Auchinleck to enquire if what the correspondent has stated is true.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

[1] Deputy Chief of General Staff Army Headquarters, India, 1936-38; C-in-C in India, February-July 1941; Supreme Commander of India-Pakistan forces at time of partition

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ENCLOSURE

"The Daily Telegraph's Karachi correspondent, Douglas Brown, reports that the Pakistan Government are seriously contemplating appealing to the other Governments of the British Commonwealth for immediate diplomatic and, if necessary, military help in saving the lives of Muslim refugees from the Indian Union. It is fully recognised, the correspondent says, that such a step might have the gravest constitutional and international consequences and that at best it could hardly fail to embarrass the Governments to whom the appeal would be addressed.

"But the issue here is looked at in terms of simple humanity—the rescue of at least one million innocent people from what seems otherwise certain extinction. The correspondent goes on to say that the Pakistan Government take the view that refugee traffic could be peaceably resumed in both directions if the Sikhs of the East Punjab and the Sikh States could be effectively disarmed. The correspondent reports that he understands that Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck who paid a flying visit to Mr. Jinnah on Tuesday subscribes to this view.

"The authorities in Karachi are reported to have reached the conclusion that even if the Delhi Government wished to suppress Sikh violence, the Indian Union Army as now constituted on a communal basis would be incapable of doing so."

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Supreme Commander's Headquarters
Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of I October, enclosing an extract from the Daily Telegraph quoting a despatch from their Karachi correspondent.

On reading this I was as surprised as you were.

There is no foundation whatever for the statement that I have subscribed to any such view, whether expressed by the Pakistan Government or any one else. In fact I was not aware that this expression had been made.

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Steps have been taken to represent the matter to the Daily Telegraph with the object of making them refute the statement.

Yours sincerely,
C. Auchinleck

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of I October. I sent my Press Attache, Campbell-Johnson, to have a private talk with the Supreme Commander, and he has the latter's authority to say that the Correspondent's reference to him is completely without foundation. Field Marshal Auchinleck says that he does not know, and has not met, the correspondent in question.

A statement is accordingly being issued to the Daily Telegraph in the following terms:

> "The report in the Daily Telegraph of 27 September that Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck subscribed to certain views in the course of his recent visit to Karachi is completely without foundation. The purpose of the visit was to discuss with members of the Pakistan Government matters in connection with the division of the Armed Forces, and to inspect British troops stationed there."

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had a message from Govind Ballabh Pant to say that the way many of our newspapers are presenting news about the Punjab, in a rather one-sided way, is creating great excitement. He asked if something could not be done to tone down this presentation, so that a calmer atmosphere may prevail. He mentioned that the AIR broadcasts had also this exciting effect.

Some days ago Master Tara Singh gave a Press interview about Muslims in northern UP being made to leave; also in Delhi. As nothing was said by us in answer to this, people felt that this might be our policy. In a statement [by] Liaquat Ali Khan appearing today, it is stated that at last Sunday's conference in Lahore the Ministers from the Government of India present wanted to include Muslims from Delhi province and the western districts of the UP in the evacuation programme. All this is leading to numerous queries and excitement. The Nawab of Chhatari has written to me about this and is going to see me. Others have also enquired. I think this matter has to be cleared up. I propose to give a Press conference tomorrow afternoon.

I am afraid our Press is not very helpful. The recent statements published about the position in Hyderabad have not helped us. Again, the news about Mountbatten's going to London and somebody else taking his place had no basis in fact, so far as I know, except that Mountbatten does intend going there for a short period for the wedding [of Princess Elizabeth].

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 October 1947.

I am glad you are giving a Press conference, and I hope you will give the Press some idea of how they should in the present emergency carry on their duties. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference met in Bombay on 8 October. They had before them the consideration of a general code of conduct to be prescribed by them for newspapers. When Devdas[1] (Gandhi) returns to Delhi, I shall know what happened to that proposal. Before he left for Bombay, I had a general discussion with him and Banerjee. Devdas and [J. N.] Sahni had a meeting in which they devised a tentative draft.

I am already writing separately to Gopalaswami Ayyangar to issue a statement dealing with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement about last Sunday's conference in Lahore and with Choudhary Khaliq-uz-zaman's fulminations against the Congress for the so-called policy of ousting Muslims. I myself am issuing a statement in reply to Liaquat Ali Khan's criticism of my speech at Amritsar. I am afraid it is asking for the impossible if you expect Government to prevent the Press from publishing information which they secure [from] their own sources, which they apparently consider credible.

I am rather surprised to note Pantji mentioning the AIR broadcasts as having an exciting effect on the present disturbed conditions. AIR gives out mostly matters which it receives from official sources or reliable news agencies like the API [Associated Press of India]. It does not, except in very exceptional circumstances, give news published by correspondents of individual papers. I myself am a habitual listener [to] AIR news broadcasts. If anything, AIR errs on the side of too much suppression. In fact, I have issued standing instructions that news regarding disturbances

[1] Youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi; Managing Editor, Hindustan Times, New Delhi; assisted father on journal, Young India; twice President, Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society and All-India Newspaper Editors Conference

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must be drastically curtailed, and whatever is given must be given in subdued terms. I have no reason to believe that AIR is not acting up to these instructions.

Yours sincerely,
·Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
28 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith, in original, a letter which I have received from the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee containing notes on special police, on the situation in Delhi and on the steps to be taken to relieve it together with the requirements of the committee in motor cycles, jeeps, arms, etc.

I gave the letter to Gandhiji who had sent for some office-bearers of the committee. I do not know what discussions he had with them, but I called them myself last evening and had an hour's discussion. Five persons were present, including Lala Deshbandhu Gupta[1] and Raghunandan Saran.[2]

I was surprised to receive this letter, more particularly the mention therein of certain orders having been issued by you direct to the local authorities in the matter of recruitment of special police officers.

I told the representatives quite clearly and emphatically that there were only three ways in which they could carry on whatever work they had in mind: (a) co-operation with local officials; (b) independent arrangements; and (c) local officers working under their direction, which obviously involved practically handing over the administration to them.

As regards (a), I have been assured by [M.S.] Randhawa that generally he has been able to maintain good relations with the local Congress Committee. As far as I could make out, those who saw me held Randhawa in high esteem. Co-operation

1 Congressman of Delhi; member of AICC and Lok Sabha
2 Congress leader of Delhi

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would not, of course, mean that the District Magistrate was, as the committee seemed to think, bound to follow the advice tendered by them. If the committee's presentation of your orders is correct, I am concerned to note that that was in effect the purport of the directions which you gave to the local authorities in the matter of special police officers. I am sure you will appreciate that it is impossible to run day-to-day administration on party lines.

Nevertheless, Randhawa tells me that he accepted all the 574 nominees which the Congress Committee suggested to him. Those who saw me said that this was a fact, but it seemed that their complaint was that they had not been consulted in the recruitment of others. This, I feel, is an impossible position to adopt or to accept. Of the 1,304 special police officers, 574 are Congress nominees. Of the 49 Special Magistrates, 19 are Congressmen.

As regards their other demands, you have only to run through the list to be convinced that it is impossible to fulfil them.

If the committee cannot work in co-operation with local administration and official backing is still asked for, then the only alternative is to make the tenure of officials subject to their working in co-operation with the committee. This naturally involves changes in personnel whenever the officials are unable to work with the committee. I put it to the representatives of the committee that, if they said that it should be done, I would be prepared to transfer whomsoever they found unsatisfactory, but I told them quite plainly that Randhawa had been highly spoken of to me by Maulana Sahib shortly after the riots began and that about a couple of days ago, a Muslim deputation told Gandhiji that Randhawa had saved them and they had nothing to say against him. Amongst the representatives present, as far as I could make out, Raghunandan Saran was the only one who had something against Randhawa. It is quite possible that there may be something personal in it, but whatever it is, it may not be fair to attach much importance to his opposition.

Finally, I should like to suggest that it is somewhat embarrassing both to me and to the local officials if orders are issued to them direct by you in respect of matters which fall within my departmental responsibility. The officials are bound to be in difficulties as to whose instructions they should take in respect of particular matters. Unless there is one channel of communication of instructions and orders, confusion is inevitable and conflicting instructions

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might result. Even if some instructions were issued by you, I feel that I should at least have been informed and that those instructions should not have come to my notice indirectly through a non-official organisation.

I should be glad if you would kindly return the enclosures.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

302

New Delhi
30 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 28 September. There is no question of my having issued any orders directly to the local authorities in Delhi. What happened was as follows.

2. During the early days of the Delhi disturbances I went about the city chiefly to see what was happening. On one or two occasions I visited the Town Hall and found the Military Headquarters situated there. I was told that the Chief Commissioner's and the Deputy Commissioner's offices were situated two miles away. The Police Headquarters were somewhere else. This struck me as a very odd arrangement and I suggested to the Chief Commissioner and Randhawa as well as to the military that it seemed to me essential that temporary headquarters of both the civil and the military as well as the police should be in one place. They all agreed to it. There was some discussion. Randhawa suggested that the military should move to his office in Old Delhi. General Rajendra Singhji, who was with me, said that this would be very undesirable as this would cut them off from the Fort which was their base; also Randhawa's was in the Civil Lines of Old Delhi which is rather out of the way. Ultimately there was an agreement that the next day all headquarters would be shifted to the Town Hall.

3. I suggested further that it was necessary to have as much non-official co-operation as possible and a room should be set aside for Congress workers and others working with them to be near at hand to be able to offer such assistance as they could to the civil authorities.

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4. Further I suggested that it would be desirable to have a small emergency committee for Delhi to bring about co-ordination between the civil and the military and police and some non-officials. I envisaged a committee of about 7 or 9 persons (this was before the formation of the present Emergency Committee). I went to the Town Hall again the next day and discovered, to my surprise, that the joint offices had not been established there as agreed to. The next day the question of forming a Delhi Emergency Committee came up before the Cabinet Emergency Committee and it was decided to form it with Bhabha as chairman.

5. In the course of my visits to the Town Hall during the early days I discussed on many occasions with Randhawa and the Chief Commissioner the preventive action that should be taken. I felt that the instigators of the disturbances should be traced and arrested. Randhawa seemed to think that the whole affair had been a spontaneous one and he couldn't think of any person who could be called an organiser or instigator. This rather surprised me because it seemed pretty evident that there was plenty of organisation behind the thing. Also it was stated definitely by some Delhi people that they were well-known persons who had organised and encouraged these disturbances. I suggested to them that any names of suspected persons should be handed over to Randhawa. I believe this was done some time later. I further suggested to Randhawa that special police and magistrates might be appointed as was usually done in such circumstances. He agreed. I added that it would be desirable to consult the leading Congressmen in Delhi as to the names.

6. The next day, I think, or the day after, when I went to the Town Hall, I was informed that among the names of the special magistrates and special police were some persons whose names had been included in the list of principal organisers of the disturbances. The Chief Commissioner himself complained of this to me and further said that although this was his responsibility, he had been completely ignored in drawing up the list. I was very much surprised at this and I told Randhawa that it was very odd that persons charged with doing mischief should be included in the list of special magistrates. I knew nothing about these persons, but I suggested that any person who was supposed to be guilty by a number of others was hardly suitable to be appointed as special magistrate or a member of the special police. I found that the method of choosing special constables and special magistrates had nothing to do with their reliability but was based on

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their educational qualifications. The choice apparently was made by some junior officers under Randhawa. I suggested to Randhawa that this was hardly a satisfactory way of drawing up lists when reliability was the most important qualification and he might revise the list from this point of view and also keep the Chief Commissioner in the picture as the responsibility was his also.

7. I suppose this talk of mine was interpreted as my having given orders though there was no question of orders but certain obvious suggestions which were discussed. I did not say that special police officers should be recruited through the DPCC but that some noted Congressmen, who knew the people in Delhi, should be consulted.

8. After this incident I did not visit the Town Hall for many days. I heard a number of complaints from Congress people that their services were not being utilised. But I did not intervene in any way.

9. I have known Randhawa for a number of years when he was in the UP. Ranjit Pandit [husband of Mrs. V. L. Pandit] knew him well and liked him. My own impression has been that he is a good officer. He has functioned well in Delhi during these past few months prior to these disturbances. It was because of this that I spoke to him and made certain suggestions. It seemed to me rather obvious. It surprised me that in spite of previous intimation no preventive action had been taken by way of arresting suspicious people. I have found out subsequently that intelligence reports indicated what was likely to happen and indeed even the persons and groups were named. But unfortunately nothing was done then and even later. After the riots had continued for some days no such step was taken. It is only now, I believe, that an effort is being made to round up some of the suspicious people.

10. The information that has reached me from many sources indicates that the trouble in Delhi was caused by certain well-organised bands, some Sikh and some Hindu. Probably most of the murders were committed by one or more organised and well-armed Sikh bands which had come here specially for the purpose and which subsequently visited Simla and Kalka and other places. The Hindu bands seemed to owe allegiance to the RSS. It seems to me clear that the RSS have had a great deal to do with the present disturbances not only in Delhi but elsewhere. In Amritsar their activities have been very obvious.

11. While the connection of the RSS with these disturbances is fairly well known, still noted members of the RSS were

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appointed as special magistrates and special police officers. This seemed very odd to me. But after my first experience I did not interfere at all in this business though it seemed to me all wrong.

12. I believe the Delhi police have got sufficient information in their possession against the RSS as well as the Sikh bands and that they have slowly begun to take action now. There appears to be a lacuna somewhere and the delay in taking action which should have been initiated long ago. Why this has happened I do not know. In other matters also, such as the suppression of highly undesirable periodicals and leaflets, nothing was done for weeks although the most objectionable articles and news items appeared. In regard to punitive fine also nothing was done although the Cabinet Emergency Committee discussed this matter on several occasions.

13. All this slackness and delay on the part of the local authorities at a time of grave crisis did not do credit to the authorities. I realise that the situation was too big for almost any person to handle satisfactorily and it came with some suddenness. Nevertheless, something could have been done and this was not done.

14. It is a mystery to me why Randhawa, who had functioned so effectively previously, should have slackened at such a moment of crisis. From his talk it would appear that his sympathies lay in a cretain direction and this perhaps prevented strong action. But I cannot be sure of this and would not like to come to a conclusion without further evidence.

15. As far as I can make out, we have had to face a very definite and well-organised attempt of certain Sikh and Hindu fascist elements to overturn the Government, or at least to break up its present character. It has been something much more than a communal disturbance. Many of these people have been brutal and callous in the extreme. They have functioned as pure terrorists. They could only do so, of course, with success in a favourable atmosphere so far as public opinion was concerned. They had that atmosphere. These gangs have not been broken up yet although something had been done to them, and they are still capable of great mischief. Last night's incidents when four Muslims in the Safdarjung Hospital were killed in their wards is a horrible reminder of the type of persons we have to deal with.

16. I entirely agree with you that orders should be conveyed through proper authority. Any other course would lead to confusion in the administrative machinery.

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17. I understand that there have been many instances of grave dereliction of duty among the special magistrates and special police officers. Many of the RSS men, who have been appointed, have functioned improperly and an attempt is being made now to purge these people.

18. I am returning to you the papers you sent me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

303

New Delhi
12 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sorry your letter dated 30 September 1947 and the last paragraph of your letter dated 9 October regarding Randhawa, have remained unreplied so far owing to my various preoccupations and the rather varied problems which your other letters have raised.

2. As regards special police officers, I have already mentioned that out of 1,304 special police officers, 574 were Congress nominees. Indeed they were all that the Delhi Congress Committee had recommended and Randhawa accepted that recommendation without any question. Out of the remaining, 203 were recommended by various departments of the Government of India; 340 were selected and recruited according to the District Magistrate's instructions while 187 were a miscellaneous lot out of whom 95 men were selected from the Delhi Volunteers Board. This would seem to indicate that in selecting special police officers Randhawa did make an attempt to recruit special police officers from as wide a field of choice as possible. His own instructions applied to a bare one-third of the total number. If such a large organisation has to be created overnight, some relaxation of standard here and there is bound to result and if in addition the District Magistrate has to be guided by the opinion of sections of people as to the desirability or otherwise of a person being taken in, his task even at the best of times would be impossible.

3. Similarly, I have mentioned that out of 49 special magistrates 19 were the Congress nominees. The others were, as far as I can make out from Randhawa's statement, persons who commanded

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some influence in the various localities. As far as I am aware, no complaints of any special magistrate having taken a partisan attitude in the present disturbances has come to light. It would, in my submission, be wholly wrong to disqualify persons of influence from taking up these important jobs in an emergency merely because some disgruntled men feel that they are in the opposite camp.

4. I am rather surprised to hear that Randhawa's "sympathies lay in a certain direction and this perhaps prevented strong action," because I remember full well that only after a couple of days of the disturbances Randhawa came to me and spoke in bitter terms about what the non-Muslims were doing against Muslims and expressed it as his firm opinion that Martial Law should be imposed throughout Delhi in order to bring the Hindus and Sikhs to their senses. I also recall the action which Randhawa took at the railway station when under his own supervision he had shot down about half a dozen non-Muslims who were found attacking Muslims on the platform. These actual facts taken with the opinion of Muslim leaders to which I have already referred would seem to indicate that any imputation of any particular sympathies to Randhawa would perhaps be unfair to him, particularly if they are based on information conveyed by those whom he had to disoblige.

5. In this connection, I would like to refer to the letter which you gave me from Saran Brothers regarding Randhawa having given a shop, of which they were the owners, to another person without their approval. The facts, as reported to me by Randhawa, are that Mr. Raghunandan Saran approached him and wanted the shop to be transferred to the landlord from a person who had occupied it after the Muslim tenant had left. He gave Randhawa to understand that there were no complications and that the matter was a straightforward one. Randhawa, to my mind, indiscreetly passed an order transferring that shop to Saran Brothers. He should have referred Mr. Raghunandan Saran to a civil court or should have told him that it was none of his business to authorise the transfer of the shop. Nevertheless, he did so because he thought that the matter was entirely free from doubt. He was then approached by the ousted occupant who said that he was a partner with the Muslim tenant who had left and that if the transfer were made and the fruit shop, which was housed there, were not opened, he would incur considerable monetary loss. Thereupon Randhawa realised that his original order was wrong and had been obtained under representation of

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different circumstances and thereupon cancelled his previous order. He ordered that the possession should be given back to the person from whom it was originally delivered to Saran Brothers. In other words, the status quo was restored. It is difficult to say how far this instance has influenced Mr. Saran but before this he was always appreciative of Randhawa and the first time I found him adopting a critical attitude was when he met me in connection with the representation of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee.

6. Regarding Randhawa's public speeches, I thoroughly disapprove his addressing public meetings and have asked him not to do so any more. I was astonished when I first read that Randhawa had made a public speech, but I thought since he had seen you the previous night, it might be part of some peace propaganda settled there. However, immediately on hearing from you, I have stopped him from addressing any further meetings.

7. I have not referred to Randhawa the report which you have enclosed with your letter, but I am enclosing Press cuttings of the particular meetings to which that report refers and some others as well. It seems to me that whoever has supplied to you that report has torn portions out of the context in order to present Randhawa's speech in its most unfavourable aspect.

8. I feel that in assessing the acts of commission and omission of the local administration we must give due regard to their difficulties. Half the police force was completely ineffective. Most of them either deserted or resigned in the midst of crises. Most of the other half had tainted sympathies. All of a sudden I had to ask for a loan of 300 police from the GP Government as there was a complete breakdown. These people were quite new to Delhi. The calls on the District Magistrate's time were too many. I realise this because I myself was receiving calls almost every fifteen minutes. In fact, I am surprised that Randhawa could stand the strain of it all and there was no breakdown. The Chief Commissioner's position was more difficult and delicate. I need not say anything here about him at present. The telephone communications in Delhi were particularly dislocated during this emergency. The result was that very often Randhawa had to go from station to station to see that the orders relating to rushing of police force etc. were executed. He himself had to rush from one area of disturbances to another not only in Delhi but also in the rural areas. I know that many things which should have been done and about which I personally gave orders, for example, immediate

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collection and recovery of collective fines, were not attended to with the promptness which we expected. I have already taken the local administration to task for these omissions, but I feel that we can judge these omissions in their correct perspective only if we take into consideration the most unusual circumstances which the local administration had to face and also allow for the fact that the chief police executive, the SSP, was completely ineffective and did not act with determination, decisiveness and forethought which were necessary either to prevent what happened or to stop it from getting worse.

9. Both you and I know that Randhawa has his defects, but on the whole, I feel that he has served Delhi and his Government well. Nevertheless, if you still feel that there should be a change, I am prepared to give effect to your wishes, but I feel I should say that such a change is not likely either to create public confidence or to give any sense of security to the officers of the local administration. I feel that one of the redeeming features of the local administration has been that this officer did his duty well in the most trying circumstances and that the general public had the feeling that if they approached him they were certain of something being done to relieve their distress.

10. I also note what you say of the Chief Commissioner in paragraph 9 of your letter of 6 October 1947. There is no doubt that the local administration had virtually to be supplanted by the Emergency Organization we had to set up in the Town Hall. I do not think we can disguise the fact that a large section of the population of Delhi suspects the Chief Commissioner, rightly or wrongly, of leanings towards the League. His contacts and relationship with some League personalities, some of whom were suspected of illicit possession of arms and ammunition, added to the intensity of public belief. One or two recent acts of his have filled me with some misgivings. Nevertheless, I feel that an immediate change would probably not be relished by, and might even fill with apprehensions, the Muslims of Delhi. Now that the Emergency Organization has been wound up, the Chief Commissioner could function in the ordinary way, but of course we shall have to make allowance for the facts mentioned above.

11. After dictating the above, I have received your letter of 11 October.

12. I note your views on the need for a change in the Delhi officialdom. It is easy to make the change you desire;

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you have only to express your wish and I will execute it, but I feel bound to warn you that a change in present circumstances is fraught with serious consequences. Only this morning Suhrawardy was telling Ghanshyamdas [G. D. Birla] that Muslims held a very good opinion of Randhawa. His public speeches which have attracted very large audiences seem to reflect on the whole the policy of Government; the gatherings are an index of his popularity. I have no doubt that his transfer would evoke considerable public agitation apart from damping the ardour of an enthusiastic public servant and causing concern to the whole administrative set-up in Delhi. Moreover, we can replace Randhawa only from the Punjab cadre since the UP Government have told us more than once that they cannot spare any more officers. I doubt if any one from that cadre in these days would be a more suitable substitute.

13. I am afraid I have no evidence before me to believe that a systematic effort is being made by any official element to sabotage Government's policy. Howsoever much we might like officials to behave like gods, we have to take note of the fact that they are human beings and it is likely that in the case of a few officials here and there, their inward sympathies get the better of their discretion and they indulge in objectionable behaviour. The duty of public men of standing is, as I have made it clear to Congressmen visiting me with such vague imputations, to expose such men and to lead concrete evidence to prove their contentions. Instead, I am asked first to suspend them and then to collect evidence. It is obvious that such an action would, apart from being unfair and unjust, completely throw the administration out of gear.

14. I am not surprised that in Mussoorie and Dehra Dun the process of looting etc. has stopped. I understand few Muslim shops have been left to be looted. The Daily Situation reports show that conditions are settling down in Delhi as well and once we can enforce peace it would not be difficult to turn out trespassers of yesterday or even today. But if we resort to simultaneous stringent action on all fronts with inadequate resources, police and military, we are inviting either ridicule of the administration's ineffectiveness or a breakdown of administrative machinery by giving it too much to do.

15. As regards the particular persons mentioned by you, I am authorising their arrest on the information given by you. I note that you have satisfied yourself about the veracity of your information.

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16. As regards the last paragraph of your letter, the question of a quarantine is for the Health Ministry to advise. I am writing to H. M. Patel about it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

304

New Delhi
12 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your long letter of 12 October about the Delhi Administration. I am grateful to you for your having written to me at length on this subject. I thought it necessary to draw your attention to various facts coming from different sources to me. It is for you, with your more direct sources of information, to judge the position and to take such action as you may think fit and proper.

2. For me it is not easy to judge of individual officers without going deeply into the question. My general impression has been that the administration in Delhi has not functioned as effectively as it should have done and that it has been watered down very greatly by the addition of numbers of people who are more of a hindrance than a help. One can understand the natural feelings of officers coming from the Punjab and I am not prepared to blame them too much. But because of those feelings, they are not as effective as they should be in a crisis of this kind. When I suggested to you to replace some of these officers, it was more with an intention of bringing some fresh blood here than to punish in any way any particular officer. But I realise that the choice is limited for you and it may be difficult to improve matters in this way.

3. When I was in Amritsar quite a number of people (Hindus) asked me if it was not possible to send some UP officers there. They felt that a new element from another province would be free from local rivalries and jealousies.

4. I mentioned the names of, I think, four persons to you in my previous letter because I had heard persistent complaints about their activities from quite a number of independent persons,

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among them being several Congressmen. Then Indira [Gandhi][1] mentioned to me also that two or three of those persons were speaking openly in her presence against the Government's policy and asking people not to pay any attention to it. It seemed to me that this kind of open defiance should not be encouraged in any way and they should be warned accordingly. I thought that some inquiry should be made and I asked Sanjivi [Director, Intelligence Bureau] to find out about these persons so that his report might be sent on to you. I do not yet know what his information is. I suggest that you might find out from him. I was not interested in their arrest unless specific reasons for their arrest were placed before you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

305

New Delhi
14 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 12 October 1947.

With reference to para. 4 of that letter, I had no indication in your letter that you had already referred the matter of the four persons against whom you had information to Sanjivi for further enquiry. Your letter gave me the impression that you had reliable information which you had verified from independent sources. I have, therefore, authorised their arrest on your information and they have already been arrested.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

1 Daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru; courted imprisonment with her husband (Feroz Gandhi) during Quit India Movement, 1942; member, CWC, 1955; President, Congress, February 1959; Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1964-66; Prime Minister of India since 1966

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New Delhi
13 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your five letters of 11 October in which you gave me some information about the Punjab States and Delhi affairs. I shall pass on the information you have sent to Dr. Zakir Husain.[1]

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

307

New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

When I visited Amritsar last Tuesday, Major-General Chimni made certain suggestions which I am passing on to Gopalaswami Ayyangar[2] so that he could take [them] up at the meeting with Pakistan representatives on 5 October. A copy of my letter to Gopalaswami Ayyangar is enclosed.

There is one point which General Chimni mentioned, and that was that trains should be started at the first possible opportunity, heavily escorted even if it means stopping of motor transport convoys. He said that a trainload equalled 10 three-ton lorries and is generally economical in escorts etc. This would

[1] Educationist; co-founder of Wardha Scheme of Education; formerly Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia, 1926-53; Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University of Aligarh; Governor of Bihar, 1957-62; Vice-President of Indian Union 1962-67; succeeded Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as President of Indian Union, 1967; died May 1969

[2] Member, Provincial Civil Service of Madras; Prime Minister of Kashmir, 1937-43; member, Constituent Assembly; Minister without Portfolio, Government of India, 1947-48; leader of Indian delegation to UN Security Council, 1948; appointed Minister for Railways and Transport in Nehru Cabinet in 1948; later Minister of Defence

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bear out the point which I made in the very beginning in my correspondence with Matthai that we should concentrate on running special trains even for shorter journeys than Delhi to Lahore. I feel that this point should be considered, particularly since it would assist in evacuating more quickly than is the case at present. I think all of us realise that time is of the essence. Of course it is necessary that before we take up this matter we should have the complete co-operation of the Pakistan Government and we ourselves should be prepared to guarantee safe passage within our territories.

If you agree, you might ask Matthai to have this question examined, and if necessary we could have it discussed at the emergency meeting on Tuesday.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami,

I understood at this morning's meeting that Neogy and yourself were going to Lahore to discuss various matters with Liaquat Ali Khan and other representatives of the Pakistan Government. If possible, I would very much like you to see Major-General Chimni on the way. He would tell you what difficulties he is experiencing. The following are some which he represented to me and I suggest that you specifically mention these and arrive at some satisfactory settlement during the negotiations:

(a) General Chimni has suggested that reciprocity in the matter of foot convoys should be insisted upon. Public opinion is already exercised over the fact that while Muslim refugees go on foot to Pakistan there is no corresponding flow from Balloki Head. The position has now been complicated owing to floods but as soon as we are able to resume the normal flow it would seem best to insist on this reciprocity.

(b) Motor transport convoys go from India to Pakistan with loads of refugees, but the Pakistan authorities return them not with refugees but with food grain etc. for Muslim refugees in East Punjab. We

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should insist that our motor transport convoys bring in our refugees.

(c) The Pakistan Government are not giving sufficient facilities for evacuating refugees from distant pockets. General Chimni had the impression that they do not wish these pockets, where probably there is the largest concentration of converts and abducted women, to be visited by General Chimni's military escorts.

(d) Searches still continue—examples, train from Mandi Bahauddin searched at Lahore—convoy from Gujranwala also searched. In searches, even licensed arms are taken away.

(e) Obstruction by Pakistan Army units, particularly in Kunjah areas, Nankana Sahib–Balloki Head area; not allowed to evacuate villagers in Gujranwala by Pakistan detachments.

(f) All refugee camps and practically all villages and towns in West Punjab, where refugees are concentrated, report shortage of food and starvation. Western Punjab should be held to the agreement for supply of food and sufficient stock should be made available with the military evacuation organisation for supplying food whenever urgently required. Refugees are forced to drink pond water as access to wells is denied to them or water in these wells is poisoned.

The Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court also complained to me that recently when he sent some staff to bring in partitioned property of the High Court, the District Magistrate's office was at first non-co-operative, then became co-operative, but despite the orders that the property should be allowed to be brought in a sub-inspector intervened and refused to allow the property to leave on pain of arrest and detention. This is a most extraordinary procedure. I am sending to you the actual copies of the documents which have been handed over to me by the Chief Justice.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
Minister without Portfolio
20 Akbar Road
New Delhi

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CHAPTER IX

VICTIMS OF COMMUNALISM

308

29 August 1947

Sardar Patel,

Mridula telephoned to me after midnight from Amritsar to say that large numbers of Hindu and Sikh refugees had reached Amritsar in a very destitute condition. There was no money to provide for them. It appears that S. Swaran Singh wired to you some days ago asking for a lakh of rupees. No answer has reached him yet.

Kindly make some arrangements to have money sent—either from your private fund for relief or from Government out of the sums sanctioned.

She also wanted permission for the Amritsar authorities to reproduce news from AIR. I told her this could certainly be done. I think formal authority might be sent to the DC [Deputy Commissioner] Amritsar, immediately.

She told me that many of the Hindu and Sikh refugees were held up on the other side of the river Ravi as the boats on the river had been deliberately sunk.

Jawaharlal Nehru

309

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
29 August 1947

Mahatma Gandhi
Calcutta

IN PRESENT SITUATION IN EAST PUNJAB I FEEL FRIENDS UNIT WOULD BE VALUABLE. HOPE YOU WILL SUCCEED IN PERSUADING HORACE

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ALEXANDER[1] TO SEND A UNIT TO EAST PUNJAB. AM TELEGRAPHING TO HIM DIRECT.

VALLABHBHAI

310

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
29 August 1947

Horace Alexander
1 Underwood Street
Calcutta

EAST PUNJAB IMMEDIATELY REQUIRES ASSISTANCE FROM FRIENDS UNIT. AMRIT KAUR RETURNED LAST EVENING AFTER TOUR AND CONFIRMS THIS. HOPE YOU CAN SPARE NECESSARY PERSONNEL ETC FOR EAST PUNJAB. WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR IMMEDIATE REPLY.

VALLABHBHAI

311

TELEGRAM

29 August 1947

From Home New Delhi
To Sri Prakasa
Indian High Commissioner Lahore

FOLLOWING FOR PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM SARDAR PATEL. TODAY'S LAHORE CONFERENCE SHOULD CONSIDER QUESTION OF NON-MUSLIM MINORITIES IN FRONTIER. INFORMATION REACHING HERE SUGGESTS IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITY OF REPETITION OF DERA ISMAIL KHAN TRAGEDY OR WHOLESALE MURDER ARSON AND FORCED CONVERSION. INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ALSO SHOW ATTACKS ON HINDUS AND SIKHS IN ISOLATED PLACES. PAKISTAN RADIO AND PRESS PROPAGANDA ABOUT PUNJAB EVENTS MAY SPREAD CONFLAGRATION IN FRONTIER. CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN FRONTIER HAS CREATED PANIC AND UNEASINESS AMONG HINDUS AND SIKHS. STATEMENTS OF RESPONSIBLE LEAGUE LEADERS IN FRONTIER HAVE ACCENTUATED THEIR FEARS AND ANXIETIES. THEIR RELATIONS IN INDIA ARE GETTING

[1] Member of Friends Service Council of London and Dublin; leader of the Friends Ambulance Unit in India

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EXTREMELY WORRIED AND RESTLESS. IMMEDIATE STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO REASSURE MINORITIES IN FRONTIER AND FOR THEIR PROTECTION OR IN THE ALTERNATIVE QUESTION OF THEIR SAFE EVACUATION SHOULD BE TACKLED.

IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT WE ARE FINDING IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO RESTRAIN PEOPLE HERE. REFUGEES COMING TO DELHI AND OTHER PLACES ARE TELLING HARROWING TALES OF ATROCITIES AND BRUTALITY. IF PRESENT POSITION IN WEST PUNJAB DOES NOT IMPROVE SOON OR IF FRONTIER IS AFFECTED SITUATION HERE MAY GO OUT OF CONTROL AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS WOULD BE VERY WIDESPREAD AND DISASTROUS. AS IT IS OUR RESOURCES ARE BEING STRAINED TO THE UTMOST AND IT IS DOUBTFUL IF THEY CAN STAND FURTHER STRAIN.

PENDING EVACUATION ARRANGEMENTS FOR NON-MUSLIMS TROOPS GUARDING OF NON-MUSLIM REFUGEE CAMPS SHOULD CONTINUE. IN FACT IT SEEMS DESIRABLE REINFORCE THEM. ANY CHANGE AT THIS STAGE WOULD CREATE PANIC AND CONSTERNATION AMONG REFUGEES.

REPORTS ARE REACHING ABOUT ATROCITIES IN BAHAWALPUR STATE. MENON HAS ALREADY SUGGESTED TO BALDEV SINGH TO TAKE UP THIS QUESTION. YOU MIGHT SUGGEST THAT ALL ARRANGEMENTS SETTLED SHOULD INCLUDE BAHAWALPUR STATE AS WELL.

312

Camp Amritsar
31 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received your two telegrams and I have shown them to Liaquat Ali Khan and others. I shall not discuss these matters in detail here because that will serve little purpose. We are up to our eyes in work and worry. The problems we have to face are stupendous. Nevertheless we will face them.

After a little tour we intend having a meeting in Lahore on 3 September at 11 a.m. to lay down detailed instructions by both provincial Governments as to what should be done. This is essential as so far only general principles are laid down. At this Lahore meeting Ministers of the two provinces will be present as well as, I hope, the two Governors. Also Liaquat Ali Khan, Baldev Singh and I, also probably some senior officers. I think it will be very desirable if you could attend this meeting. This is necessary from many points of view. Your presence will

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energise the people here and you will bring a fresh mind to bear on these problems. I must confess that I feel a little overwhelmed by these difficulties and the urgency which accompanies them.

I suggest to you therefore with all earnestness to come to Lahore for a day. You can come by plane in the morning and return the same evening. Probably I shall return with you. This invitation is also made on behalf of Liaquat Ali Khan.

Being away from Delhi even for a few days one gets out of touch with developments and that is another reason why I should like you to come and tell us what the general position is.

Generally speaking, agreements have been arrived at between the various Governments on all grounds of principle. The real difficulty is carrying them out in practice. I think something is certainly going to be done but our approach has to be rapid and all-embracing. Therefore very detailed instructions have to be issued to both Governments.

I have come to the conclusion that this refugee problem requires very special attention. I am thinking of asking K. C. Neogy to take charge of it with considerable authority in all its many aspects. I am summoning him to Delhi. We shall discuss this matter further afterwards.

Please expedite the despatch of as many trucks and lorries, military or civil, as possible. I am writing separately to the people concerned but you might also do something about it.

The Amritsar Civil Hospital has become a kind of provincial hospital for refugees. It is totally lacking in medicines and other supplies. Amrit Kaur was given a list of some of these things but really much more is wanted. I suggest that a full load of supplies be sent by plane immediately to Amritsar.

It is also necessary in Amritsar to equip another hospital immediately at least for the less serious and convalescent cases so as to make room for the more serious cases. It is impossible to throw out people into the street because they have no homes to go to. Some kind of equipment is necessary for this hospital. A building can be obtained here. It is suggested that some equipment from a military hospital might be lent for this purpose. I understand that this can be done from the Ambala or some other military hospital. All these things should be flown to Amritsar. We have to function as if we were in wartime and every day's delay is vital.

A large number of doctors of all grades, sanitary inspectors, etc., are wanted all over this area. The condition of the camps

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is pitiful. I suggest that as many of these people as can be raised be sent here. An appeal might be made to other provinces.

In the new military set-up I am insisting that the brigadiers should be Indians. I told our Commander-in-Chief so. [General] Rees[1] is creating difficulties but I propose to insist on this point.

I hope you will pull up the Punjab States, specially Faridkot, Nabha and Jind. They are centres of trouble and disorders and they must be made to behave. Mountbatten mentioned in Lahore that if necessary order will be kept in these States or some of them by us directly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[PS.]

Since the above was written I have spoken to you on the phone. I am glad you will be coming to Lahore on 3 September.

I think the time has come when Bapu should be asked to come to East Punjab. I am sending him a message accordingly. I enclose a letter from him with its enclosures.

[Maj-Gen. K. S.] Thimayya[2] is going to be in charge of our brigade.

The immediate situation in East and West Punjab is somewhat better, but the refugee problem looms large.

Jawaharlal

1 Head of Military Engineering Staff to Emergency Committee of Cabinet, New Delhi, 1947-48

2 Commander, East Punjab Area during boundary trouble; Commander, Indian troops in Kashmir, April 1948-50; Chairman, NNRC, Korea; GOC-in-C, successively of Western Command, Southern Command and Eastern Command; appointed Chief of Army Staff, 1957

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New Delhi
1 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I received your letter dated 31 August 1947 at Jullundur yesterday.

2. We left Delhi at 7.45 and reached Jullundur at about 10 a.m. Immediately thereafter, I had a meeting with the Governor and at 11 we had a conference with the Governor, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Master Tara Singh[1], Mr. P. N. Thapar, the Refugee Commissioner for East Punjab, Mr. Sachdeva, the Chief Secretary, and a representative of the Hindu Mahasabha. The various problems regarding refugee relief and evacuation were gone through and we came to an agreement regarding respective spheres of Central and provincial Government and the Army. I am seeing the officers concerned today so that there may be no delay in taking the action required.

3. The situation in Jullundur district seems to have been under control, but the trouble has spread to Ludhiana district. Both on my onward and return journeys I saw several villages on this side of the Sutlej in flames. It seems that fire had been started in the morning. Otherwise the general situation in the East Punjab seemed to have improved as rapidly as could be expected. I get the same impression from a reading of the intelligence reports.

4. The position in West Punjab, however, seems to be still very serious, and the Sikhs appear to have been made a special target for the attacks. I interviewed a host of refugees from various places and they all had a tale of indescribable horror and woe to tell. Rather than concentrate on restoring normal conditions in his own area the Pakistan Minister for Information and Interior appears to believe in flinging mud at others. I am enclosing a cutting from the Free Press Journal [Bombay] giving in brief what he said at a Press conference in Karachi on 29 August. I

[1] Akali Sikh leader of Punjab; Secretary and later President, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee; after World War II resigned from Congress and organised Panthic Akali party which agitated for Punjabi Suba (a Sikh majority province)

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wish they saw the utter futility of driving a wedge between the Sikhs and the Hindus. After all this savagery and atrocities in the East and West Punjab, any amity between the Sikhs and Muslims is out of the question. An attempt, therefore, to put the Government of India in the wrong in the eyes of the Sikhs can only be regarded as mischievous and dishonest.

5. While this sort of publicity goes on in West Punjab and Pakistan Radio is giving garbled versions of what is happening in the East Punjab and saying little, if any, about the occurrences in West Punjab, it seems to me impossible to achieve any substantial results in the direction of restoring normal conditions by any publicity that we undertake. To give lurid and detailed accounts of what is happening in West Punjab would make matters worse. To sugarcoat the bitter pill would open us to the charge of suppressing the truth. In these circumstances, it is rather difficult for me to understand what our journalists or publicity officers attached to various offices in West Punjab would achieve. I have read this morning the joint Press reports of the correspondents whom you took with yourself. There is little in what they say which is not known to everybody here already. In fact, people know much more than what they have said.

6. The crowds I met at Jullundur were complaining bitterly about the attitude of Muslim officials, both military and police. I do not know whether you are aware that some Muslim soldiers in East Punjab were found to be wantonly shooting at refugees and were arrested by non-Muslim patrols. Nothing has been done about them so far. Their names are: Hira Mian and Zalil and one section of the 3/1 Punjab Regiment. The former were arrested by Lt. Ranjit Singh and were handed over to Lt. Ghulam Hussain, OC 2nd Battalion, Bihar Regiment, and the latter were arrested by Captain Bahl of the 18th Cavalry. It is usual for a court of inquiry to be held after a military officer is arrested. Apparently nothing has been done by Government, by General Rees and it is generally feared that when the splitting up of the Muslim and non-Muslim elements of the Boundary Force takes place, these officers will be handed over to the Pakistan Army where they will give a coloured version of what has taken place and will probably pose as heroes rather than as criminals. I feel I should also let you know that the feeling is vehement and genuine that General Rees is a completely wrong choice for the command of the area. He has created so much prejudice and distrust among the general population that so long as he is at the head of the

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Force it is impossible for people to look to that Force with any degree of confidence which is so essential for the restoration of peaceful conditions. I do not say that the general feeling is justified. I am not competent to pass judgment on that point. But it does seem to me very difficult to maintain our choice in the face of public antipathy and loss of confidence.

7. In your letter you have referred to K. C. Neogy to be put in charge of the refugee problem. I feel that this would be a wrong step to take. He does not even know the language and it will be difficult for him to understand the mentality of the people with whom he will have to deal. Apart from this, I feel, and all of us agreed at Jullundur, that the field work in regard to the refugee problem must be entrusted to the East Punjab Government, the Centre confining itself to such general direction, co-ordination and assistance as may be necessary. I feel that this field work must essentially be in charge of an officer with district experience. The East Punjab Government have appointed Thapar as Refugee Commissioner for East Punjab. I do not know much about him but the choice as well as the responsibility for the appointment must be left to the East Punjab. As regards the Centre, [C.N.] Chandra's[1] functions will now be to deal with the problem only in so far as it affects the Centre and to secure for the Refugee Commissioner of the East Punjab such assistance in regard to staff, transport, medical stores, etc., as may be necessary. I have asked Chandra to have a full discussion with Thapar as to East Punjab's requirements and come here tomorrow morning so that we can settle the various problems immediately. We have also proposed that [H.V.R.] Iengar,[2] Chandra and [S.K.] Kripalani[3] should form a sort of staff committee which will feed and take orders and directions from the committee of the Cabinet consisting of yourself, myself and Baldev Singh which would meet daily or as circumstances demand and take decisions on all major questions. It is little useful, therefore, that Neogy would be able to do at the Centre. In the matter of staff, the East Punjab Government have asked for 28 officers and I am ordering the Principal of the Administrative Training School to release 28 probationers from that school for service in the various refugee

[1] ICS; appointed Secretary, Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation, Government of India, July 1948

[2] Secretary, Ministry of Planning, Government of India; First Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister Nehru; later Home Secretary under Sardar Patel; retired as Governor, Reserve Bank of India

[3] ICS; a senior officer in the Central Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation

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camps in the East Punjab. They will be leaving for the East Punjab in a day or two.

8. Amrit Kaur has received your letter and we have had a discussion on the situation. I have also arranged for the despatch of 20,000 copies of newspapers to Jullundur, Amritsar and Lahore.

9. I received reports about atrocities on Hindus and Sikhs stranded in Bahawalpur. I have, therefore, arranged to send [V.P.] Menon there to settle evacuation arrangemets in consultation with Bahawalpur, Bikaner and Jodhpur States.

10. At Jullundur [C. M.] Trivedi was complaining about the fact that he had not seen the IGP, East Punjab, ever since he assumed office. It appears that Swaran Singh, to use Trivedi's own words, is treating the IGP as his personal attendant. On enquiry I learnt that he also accompanied you on tour. The result has been that Trivedi has been able to do precious little about the reorganisation of Police. I feel that the IGP should have been at headquarters instead of moving about in this manner.

11. I have already sent telegrams to the Rulers of the States of Faridkot, Patiala, Kapurthala, Nabha, Malerkotla and Jind. But it has not been possible for me to get to Nabha and Malerkotla because of lack of communications via Lahore. I have also suggested to Trivedi that he should have liaison with the States from which he apprehends trouble and have said that, in particular, a representative from Patiala should be welcome.

12. Your letters to Lockhart[1] and [G. S.] Bajpai have been delivered. I have also told Dr. Gopichand Bhargava that he should go ahead with an early formation of his Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
Camp Amritsar

[1] General Sir Robert Lockhart, Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army

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New Delhi
2 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have already sent to you a letter through Brig. Chimni which I hope you will have received by the time this reaches you.

2. From morning till night these days, my time is here fully occupied with the talks of woe and atrocities which reach me through Hindu and Sikh refugees from all over Western Pakistan. People from Quetta, Sind and West Punjab give lurid accounts of what these two communities are passing through. These accounts are also being spread by word of mouth all over Delhi and surrounding areas. The Press has also been prominently featuring these accounts, with the result that public feeling is greatly exercised, particularly in Delhi and surrounding areas, but generally all over the country. You know the mass psychology; they all now feel that it is due to our "conciliatory and weak-kneed policy" in dealing with the whole refugee and communal problem which is responsible for the present difficulties and that the only answer to atrocities in West Punjab is a flare-up in the rest of India. People are openly clamouring as to why Muslims are allowed to go about in peace openly in the streets of Delhi and other towns, why there are any Muslims at all in the police and the civil administration, and are indulging in similar other demands.

3. I am writing all this not in any extenuation of the folly of this attitude of mind, but only to make you acquainted with the temper of the people here. Incidents have already taken place round about Delhi. A goods train carrying baggage for the Pakistan Government was burnt at Bahadurgarh, apparently because news had appeared that there was no trace of two or three goods trains which were transporting East Punjab records, implying thereby that either they have been destroyed or had been taken to Karachi instead of to Simla. Attacks have taken place on Muslims walking along the road, going on cycles or in trains. The people are not simply in a mood to listen to reason and I apprehend that if things do not settle down quickly in West Punjab the situation here and in other places may become

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beyond control. You must have received news about the flare-up in Calcutta and Gandhiji's decision to fast. This morning's telephone from Prafulla Babu [Dr. P. C. Ghosh] was not reassuring.

4. In these circumstances, I earnestly feel that the Pakistan Government should be asked to make immediate attempts to put down lawlessness and disturbances with a strong hand. That strong hand should be used not only against the lawless elements of the general population, but also mischief-makers in the various services, military, police or administrative. Unless this is done, I am afraid the future is gloomy and full of explosive possibilities.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India

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TELEGRAM

2 September 1947

From High Commissioner Camp Lahore
To Ministry of Home New Delhi

PERSONAL. FOR SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. HAVE JUST SEEN NEWSPAPERS PRESS MESSAGE SENT SOME DAYS AGO BY CORRESPONDENTS ACCOMPANYING US. THIS MESSAGE HAS CONSIDERABLY UPSET WEST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT AS LIKELY TO LEAD TO RETALIATION IN EAST PUNJAB. I WAS WHOLLY IGNORANT OF THIS MESSAGE. I FEEL STRONGLY THAT WHILE TRUTH SHOULD NOT BE SUPPRESSED EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO AVOID GIVING PUBLICITY IN PRESS OR BY RADIO TO ACCOUNTS WHICH MIGHT INFLAME PUBLIC OPINION. UNFORTUNATELY SOME LOCAL PAPERS HERE WRITING VIRULENT STUFF.

SITUATION BOTH IN WEST AND EAST PUNJAB REQUIRES RECIPROCAL AND COOPERATIVE HANDLING BY BOTH CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS. UNDOUBTEDLY CONDITIONS STILL VERY BAD IN MANY AREAS. PROBLEM OF REFUGEES ALSO ASSUMING TERRIFIC PROPORTIONS ON EITHER SIDE. OUR JOINT TOURS HAVE DONE MUCH GOOD. AM CONVINCED OF EARNEST DESIRE OF PAKISTAN AND WEST PUNJAB GOVERNMENTS TO PUT AN END RAPIDLY TO LAWLESSNESS AND HELP US IN EVACUATING OUR REFUGEES. EVERYWHERE LIAQUAT ALI KHAN AND NISHTAR HAVE DELIVERED STRONG AND GOOD SPEECHES.

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WE ARE EVOLVING BIG ORGANISATIONS ON EITHER SIDE TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS FACING US. EVERY EFFORT BEING MADE TO HAVE FULLEST COOPERATION BETWEEN THESE ORGANISATIONS OR ELSE WE WILL BOTH FAIL TO ACHIEVE SATISFACTORY RESULTS. WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD SUGGEST TO PRESS AND RADIO TO AVOID ALARMIST STORIES AND EMPHASISE COOPERATIVE ASPECT OF WORK BEFORE US. SHOULD ALSO LIKE PRESS STATEMENT TO APPEAR TO FOLLOWING EFFECT.

"JAWAHARLAL NEHRU DESIRES US TO STATE THAT SINCE HE WENT TO PUNJAB HE HAS AVOIDED MAKING ANY PRESS STATEMENT TILL THE END OF HIS TOUR. HE HAS BEEN IGNORANT OF MESSAGES SENT BY PRESS CORRESPONDENTS WHICH HE HAS NOT EVEN SEEN. HIS TOUR WITH PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN HAS REVEALED HARROWING SIGHTS WHEREVER THEY HAVE GONE. THIS TOUR HAS UNDOUBTEDLY DONE MUCH GOOD AND HE IS GRATEFUL FOR THE COOPERATION WHICH HE HAS RECEIVED FROM PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN AND WEST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT IN STEPS BEING TAKEN FOR RELIEF AND EVACUATION ON LARGE SCALE. THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS ARE ACTING IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN PUTTING DOWN LAWLESSNESS EVERYWHERE AND AFFORDING RELIEF. THEY HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT A FIRM POLICY IS GOING TO BE PURSUED TO ESTABLISH PEACE AND ORDER. NEHRU APPEALS TO PRESS AND RADIO TO HELP IN EVERY WAY IN FURTHERING THIS POLICY. CONDITIONS ALMOST EVERYWHERE HAVE BEEN TERRIBLY BAD. EVEN NOW LAWLESSNESS EXISTS IN SEVERAL AREAS BUT EVERY EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY AND TO HELP REFUGEES. WE HAVE EVERY HOPE OF SUCCEEDING IN THE NEAR FUTURE."

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New Delhi
1 September 1947

My dear Matthai,

In connection with the evacuation of refugees from West Punjab, it has been decided that all available means of transport by rail or road should be mobilised so as to afford timely assistance to refugees to escape from the sad and almost desperate plight in which they find themselves on the other side of the border. Having regard to the available road transport and the supply of petrol, it seems to me that we shall have to rely to a much

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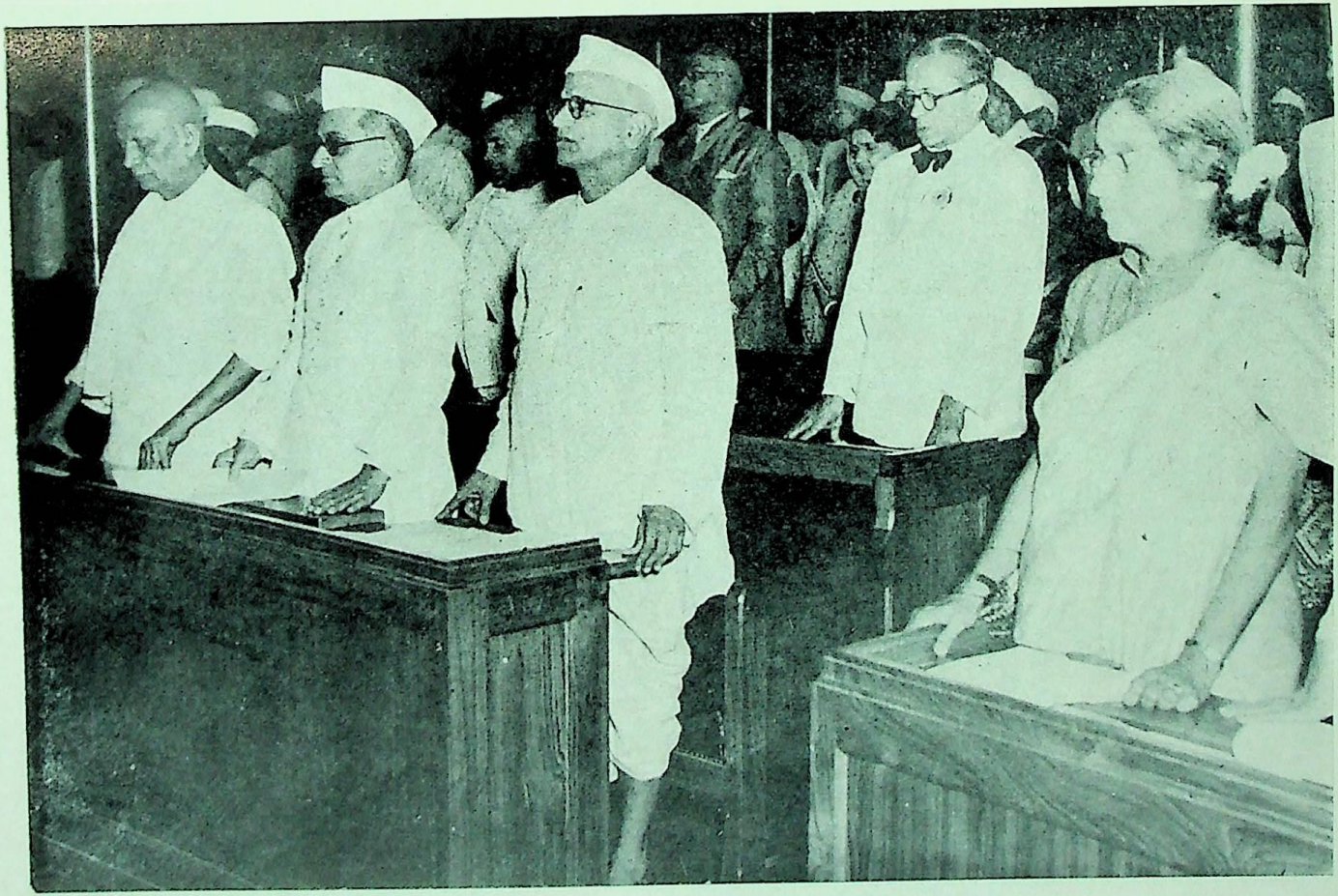

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO FREE INDIA AT THE MIDNIGHT SESSION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ON 14/15 AUGUST 1947. LEFT TO RIGHT IN FRONT ROW: VALLABHBHAI PATEL, K. M. MUNSHI, N. V. GADGIL AND MRS. AMMU SWAMINATHAN

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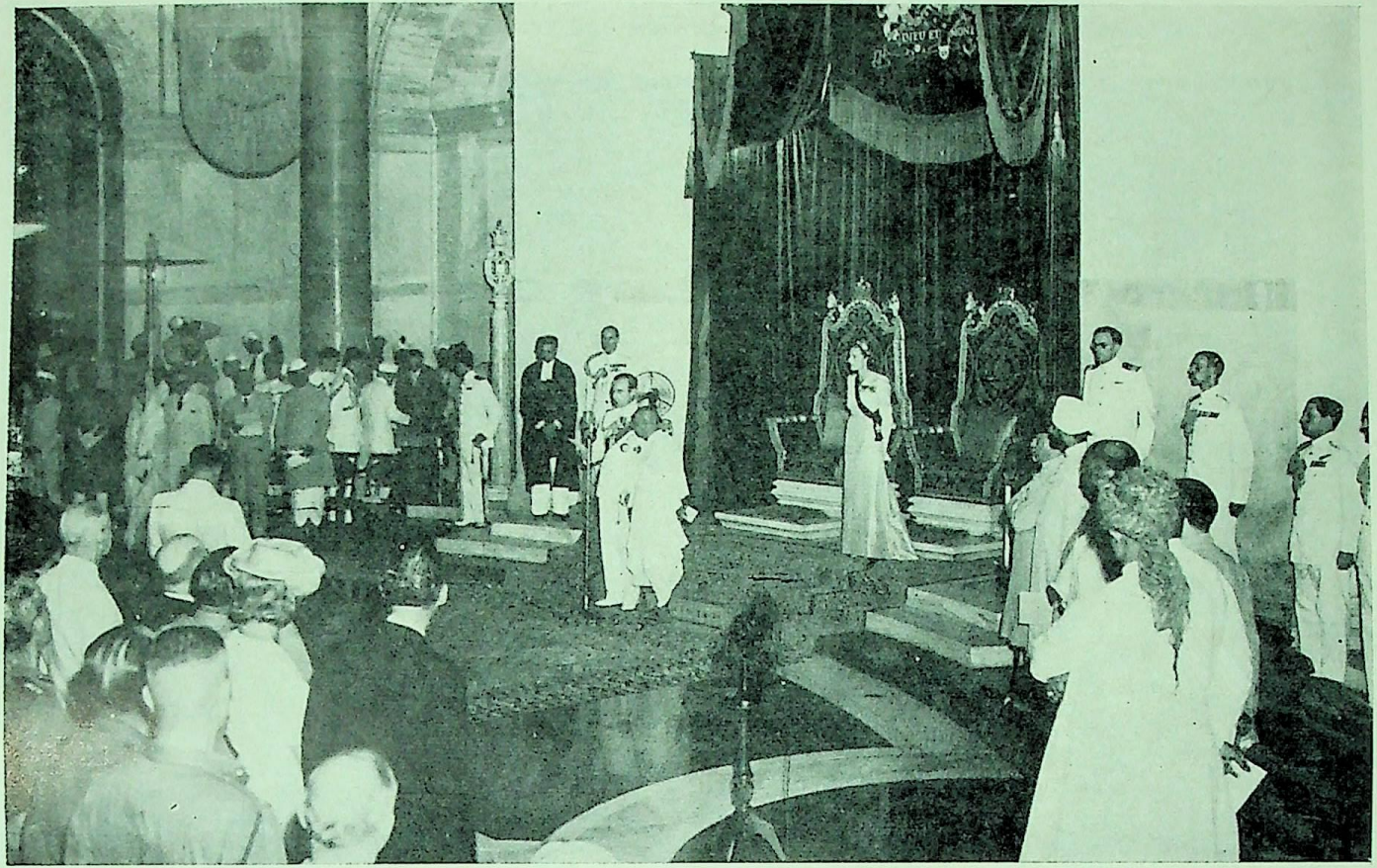

MOUNTBATTEN ADMINISTERS OATH OF OFFICE TO PATEL AS A MINISTER IN THE CENTRAL CABINET ON 15 AUGUST 1947 IN THE DURBAR HALL OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI. OTHER MINISTERS ON RIGHT AND LEFT LOOK ON

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larger extent than we at first anticipated on rail communications. At the same time, I find that the progress made in securing reasonable rail communication is slow and entirely out of keeping with the requirements. I feel that we must show a much better rate of progress and that what is required are quick decisions and immediate implementation of those decisions overcoming all obstacles that may at first sight appear to be insuperable but would seem to be surmountable given the will, the direction and the initiative.

2. Brigadier Chimni is being placed in charge of the evacuation arrangements at Lahore. I feel that, having regard to the requirements mentioned above, it is essential that he should have with him a senior and as highly placed railway official as can be spared. The present arrangement is unlikely to be satisfactory. The selected officer should be given complete control over available railway resources. It must be borne in mind that evacuation must claim prior and almost sole attention during the present emergency and from that point of view it seems all the more necessary that the officer concerned should have almost a carte blanche.

3. I should be grateful if you would suggest to me a suitable officer for this purpose and also ask the Railway Department to give this officer all the assistance and help that he might requisition.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai, CIE
Minister for Transport and Railways
New Delhi

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New Delhi
2 September 1947

My dear Sardar,

Your letter of the 1st. As far as I am concerned, I will undertake to run more trains for the evacuation of refugees provided the departments responsible for the police and the army give us the necessary assistance. The absence of this protection has been our main obstacle, and in spite of repeated requisitions sufficient assistance has not been forthcoming. You probably do not know that the Army have specially asked us not to run trains unless sufficient armed escorts are available. We have had several meetings with representatives of the Army for this purpose.

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As more protection becomes available, the number of trains operating will be correspondingly increased. More than this I cannot guarantee. It is not a question of "will, direction and initiative." It is a question simply of adequate provision for preventing railway staff and passengers from being attacked and murdered and their property looted. So long as this is going on, the problem of running more trains cannot be solved with the best will in the world. I would earnestly suggest to you that you should apply your mind above all to this matter, for which you are the Minister responsible. If this can be solved, railway transport will not be difficult to provide.

Your proposal that a senior railway official should be attached to the brigadier in charge of evacuation arrangements at Lahore with almost a carte blanche is one that I cannot for a moment entertain. When you speak of everything else being relegated to a secondary place, it seems to me that you do not realise that we have a food crisis in the country quite as acute as the refugee problem. We have also a coal problem and a salt problem and many other problems involving transport quite as urgent. It is my responsibility, as Minister for Railways, to see that each of these equally urgent needs gets its proper share of railway facilities, and I must therefore decline to place all the railway resources available in the country at the disposal of a single railway officer. If you will forgive my saying so, in the present circumstances of transport in the country, I cannot conceive of a more ill-considered suggestion.

The services of all the officers of the East Punjab Railway, from the Chief Administrative Officer downwards, are at the disposal of the Government, but they can only function if the departments responsible for law and order are prepared to do their bit. So long as they are unable to do it even to the minimum extent called for, which apparently seems to be the case, those responsible for transport cannot be expected to fulfil their responsibilities.

As an illustration of what is happening to the few trains that we are able to run in the present disturbed conditions, will you please read the enclosed note which I have just received? This is typical of several reports which have come into my hands of what is happening all over the Punjab, and unless you as Home Minister can put a stop to these happenings, I am afraid I am not in a position to do what you ask of me.

I am sorry to write to you in this strain, but your letter obviously calls for plain-speaking. We, as a Cabinet, are faced with

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a crisis of unprecedented magnitude, and much to my regret I find a growing tendency among Ministers, when they find they are unable to discharge their own responsibilities, to place the blame on others. It is only by consideration for one another's difficulties and a real willingness to render mutual co-operation that we shall survive this crisis.

I am sending a copy of this correspondence to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE·

ACCOUNT OF INCIDENT ON TRAIN NO. 2 DOWN KALKA-DELHI ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1947

Accompanied by the Hon'ble Sarah Ismay I was a passenger on the "2 Down" train from Kalka to Delhi. The train left Kalka station on time at midnight, and there was no disturbance of any sort until this morning of 1 September 1947. The train was by this time running late, and Sonepat was not reached until 8.45 a.m. About four to five miles out of Sonepat the first of three incidents occurred.

1st Incident:

The train stopped and a large crowd started to throw stones at a third class carriage, smashing windows, and stirring up feeling. This continued for some five minutes when what I took to be an anti-personnel bomb was thrown at the train. This bomb caused no damage or casualties, but was the signal for a general attack on the train. This attack was accompanied by the greatest brutality imaginable, no discrimination being made towards age or sex of the victims. Women and small children were attacked in a particularly brutal manner. Both I and Miss Ismay can vouch absolutely for any details that I am about to give, as the worst affected coach was next to our compartment, and the killings took place within ten yards of us, and some under our window. The most glaring and patently obvious side to this incident, which was by far the worst of the three, was the total inactivity and ineffectiveness of the police escort. Although they were placed on the train for the express purpose of preventing any outrage, not only did they make no effort to break up the trouble, but one constable watched the death of several of the victims. I cannot express too strongly my disgust at the behaviour of the Indian police concerned, and I consider that whatever record they may have has been smeared beyond all recognition by this exhibition of partiality and uselessness.

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2ND INCIDENT:

This occurred some 15 to 20 minutes after the first. The train stopped and a number of men left it. Victims this time were men and women working in the fields, who were attacked and killed. Again no effort was made by any responsible person to check these killings.

3RD INCIDENT:

This occurred very shortly after the last, and in this case a man demanded to search my own compartment to see whether I was harbouring any Muslims. Having satisfied himself there was no Mohammedan in my compartment he withdrew. This I consider to be just one more example of lawlessness and disorder prevailing in India at this time.

Having seen this with my own eyes and having a reliable witness in Miss Ismay, I would go so far as to say that all these incidents, especially the first, were planned out beforehand, with great detail and efficiency.

CASUALTIES:

These are very difficult to estimate but over the three incidents I would put the total at not less than 50 killed, of which the majority were accounted for in Incident One.

As to the complicity of the engine driver I would not be prepared to swear. But it struck us both as most odd that the whistle should have been blown hard after each incident and before the train moved off.

WEAPONS:

I should imagine that the weapons used were the usual type employed in fights of this nature, viz.:

hatchets
sharpened farm implements, resembling garden hoes
lathies used in some cases to beat the victims to death
very few pistols.

One point we would both particularly like to stress. Sikhs numbered not more than three of the total crowd attacking the train.

H. Lt. Beaumont
ADC to G.G.

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Motibagh Palace
Patiala
5 September 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Ever since the Cabinet Mission produced the plan which recognised three elements in the national life of India, that is to

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say, General, Muslims and Sikhs, it was hoped that with the commitments which the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government had made, the right of the Sikh community to an honourable place in the body politic had been assured. Both during the war and before it, the Sikhs had established their claim to be regarded as a separate interest by virtue of the services that they rendered to the country and the nation. In spite of the fact that they were a small community, their contribution to the armed forces as also in the national struggle was so considerable that it has now been recognized that in any political set-up, the Sikhs must be given an honoured place.

With the Congress agreeing to the partition of India, the claim for the division of the Punjab was pressed forward very largely at the instance of the Sikhs who, as events have turned out, were rightly afraid of the domination by the majority community in this province. In such a case, the Sikhs who had their homeland in the Punjab and whose interests were vitally concerned, stood to lose the most. It was hoped that in the division of the Punjab not only the population ratio would be considered but various other factors such as property value, the contribution made by the community for the development of certain tracts, etc., would not be ignored. But these hopes have been shattered by the award of the Chairman of the Boundary Commission.

In the communal disturbances that have preceded and followed this award, the Sikhs have been made a particular target, and from all accounts that have been received, it appears that the communal wrath of the Muslims has been directed mainly towards the destruction of the life and property of the Sikhs. Atrocities which deprave humanity to an unimaginable degree are reported to have been committed against them, and while the Hindus have also suffered, the Sikhs have had to bear the brunt of it. Unfortunately, it is also true that in the East Punjab, the non-Muslims also lost self-control, and were guilty of condemnable conduct, but I have reason to believe that the loss sustained by the Muslims at their hands pales into insignificance in comparison with what has happened in the West Punjab to the minorities. This has produced an atmosphere of great excitement and the Sikhs have now come to believe generally that it was not only a question of their losing their political entity in the new arrangement but the very existence of the community was at stake.

In these circumstances, it is only natural that the Sikhs should feel that unless a very bold policy for their preservation is

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adopted, their fate is doomed. The obvious reaction of such a feeling is that they should become desperate. But most of them have not lost all faith in the Congress and the ability of the Dominion Government to protect their interests, and still look up to them for help and assistance. It is, therefore, most essential that with a view to reassuring them some active steps should be taken and provisions incorporated in the new Constitution which would guarantee that the rightful place, which the Sikh community deserves in the polity of India, will not be denied to them.

I must point out that one or two things which have happened of late are likely to shake this faith and, therefore, hasten to draw your attention to them, so that steps may be taken to put matters right before it is too late. One of these is that only recently when the report of the Minorities Committee was considered by the Constituent Assembly, the recommendation contained therein to the effect that the question of granting representation to the Sikhs would be considered separately was amended so as to provide that the question of minorities in the East Punjab shall be considered separately. I daresay that the intention behind this was not to minimise the importance of the question of the Sikh minority in the East Punjab and couple it with the rights of the other minorities such as Muslims, or even that the question of the rights of the Sikhs in the Centre was not to be considered at all, but unfortunately that is exactly the impression that it has left on the Sikhs. Again it is very widely felt amongst the Sikhs that the very basis on which the national life of India was built, that is to say, the three elements mentioned above, has been ignored so far as the Sikhs are concerned. The Muslims demanded a separate sovereign State and they have got it. The Hindus, who compose by far the largest portion of the second element described as general, have to all intents and purposes got another sovereign State where they predominate. It is only the third element, i.e. the Sikhs, who have not only not benefited from the new arrangement at all, but who, although due to reasons not inherent in it, have lost a good deal of what they possessed even before.

I am prepared to concede at once that it is neither the intention nor the policy of the Dominion Government of India to make India a theocratic State in the sense that Pakistan is developing, but I am sure you will agree that until and unless some steps are taken to safeguard and preserve the entity of the Sikh

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community in the body politic, they for one are bound to lose all political significance.

Of late I have had occasion to talk to very many Sikh leaders of importance. Their sense of frustration and despair knows no bounds. The young element is desperate and feels that they are faced with total extinction and are, therefore, prepared to make any sacrifice to ward off the threatening evil. The Sikhs have stood by the progressive elements in the country on many occasions in the past. Their contribution to winning freedom is not inconsiderable. They have always been in the vanguard wherever sacrifice was demanded. As the sword arm of India, they deserve special consideration, and I am sure that when the history of the past few eventful years comes to be written, the Sikhs as a community will be given an honoured place in it. They have always fought for righteousness and justice and stood up in the face of great odds. I have not the slightest doubt that they will continue to do so in the future irrespective of whatever sufferings they may have to endure and losses to sustain. I would, therefore, strongly urge that the psychological opportunity of winning their lost confidence and faith should not be missed. An immediate declaration of the Government of India assuring the community of their rightful place in the body politic seems to be most essential. This should be followed by active steps to compensate them for the huge losses in property that they have suffered. Most of them have had to abandon everything they possessed. The Government of India would be fully justified in freezing the property being left behind by Muslim emigrants or evacuees in the East Punjab with a view to adjustment in compensation of that left by the non-Muslim evacuees from the West Punjab.

There is no time to be lost. Such a declaration is incidentally bound to have a great deal of effect in rehabilitating the confidence of the minorities in the West Punjab, as it would be an indication of the concern of the Government of India over their fate. It is undeniable that that faith is at present not very robust, but I am sure that it is not too late as yet to rejuvenate it.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh
[Maharaja of Patiala]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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23 September 1947

My dear His Highness,

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of 5 September 1947. It caught me at a time when our hands were very full not only with the Punjab situation, but also with the Delhi disturbances. Moreover, the important points which it raised demanded very close consideration.

2. I need not present to you or for that matter to any Sikh my credentials of friendship and loyalty to their cause. I need hardly assure you, therefore, that the sentiments which you have expressed for your community have found an echo in my own mind. It has been a bitter and heart-rending experience to me to find members of this valiant community rendered so helpless in West Punjab as to compel them to leave their homes, their property and their kith and kin in circumstances tragic beyond words. At the same time, I rejoice that due to partition, they have been saved that fate in East Punjab, and that at least our brothers and sisters from across the border have a place where they would be welcome and where they could, under the influence of time the great healer, attend to their lacerated wounds and rehabilitate themselves.

3. This is not the time, if I may say so, to strike a balance-sheet between what has happened in the East Punjab and what has overtaken our countrymen in the West. Let us hope that the chain of action and reaction is about to end and that we shall now gain time to devote ourselves to some constructive thinking and planning which will ensure the happiness and prosperity of the common man in whatever part of India he may be. We have already lost a month of most precious time. Believe me, we have no more time to lose and I hope that with complete amity and harmony, each one of us settles down to the great task of reconstruction and rehabilitation in a spirit of co-operation and mutual goodwill. Therein alone lies our salvation. If we lose this opportunity we might run the risk of going under.

4. I do not think there is any reasonable person in India today who does not feel for your community or who does not realise the need for doing his best, consistent with democratic

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principles, to safeguard its undoubted interests. It was purely from this point of view that with the concurrence of the Sikh members of the Constituent Assembly we decided to postpone the question of minorities in the East Punjab. As things have happened, you will agree that it was a wise decision because whatever we might have settled some weeks ago, we would have to unsettle now that the actual position has diametrically changed. I am happy to say that in the actual day-to-day working of Government in East Punjab both Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Sardar Swaran Singh are acting as one man and are not taking any decisions without consulting each other. This to my mind is a happy augury for the future well-being of both Sikhs and Hindus in their home province of East Punjab.

5. I fully appreciate the reasons for your stressing the fact that the Sikhs should be assured of their rightful place in the body politic, but I am sure you will concede that there is no need for an assurance where a matter is a settled fact. In all the plans which we are making for the resettlement of refugees in East Punjab, I have asked Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Sardar Swaran Singh to ensure that nobody's interests are adversely affected. You will have already seen in the Press the proposals which the East Punjab Government are going to implement in the matter of resettlement of refugees on lands. The same principles are no doubt to be followed in regard to the other property. I am sure when things settle down and take an even course you will find that your community has not only gained, but settles down in, its rightful place in the body politic.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major H. H. Maharajadhiraja
Sir Yadavendra Singh Bahadur, GBE
Maharaja of Patiala
Patiala

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Ranbir Villa Palace
Chail
13 September 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have received a long letter from Master Tara Singh who has given me a very disturbing account of the activities of the

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Muslims of the Western Punjab across the Eastern Punjab boundary. In these attempts at molestation, which are more or less raids made into Eastern Punjab territory, the Sikhs are particularly picked and quite a number of them [are] reported to have been killed. I might as well quote what Master Tara Singh has said on the subject.

> "You know unprecedented atrocities of all sorts are being committed by the Muslims in the Western Punjab which they started as soon as charge of Pakistan was given to them. . . . The Pakistan Government has armed the Muslim populace on the other side of the boundary line with rifles and other firearms. They have announced the Muslim National Guard as an official agency and have armed them. They are starting another armed organization. They have announced on the radio that they need 25,000 armed Pathans who may settle on the borderline for the protection of the Muslims in the East Punjab, and I hear that a number of the Pathans have already arrived at Lahore for this purpose. This danger is quickly developing. At present armed military, policemen and population of Pakistan are attacking the Sikhs and the Hindus on this side of the boundary. The result is that more than a hundred villages have been vacated by the Sikhs and Hindus. Danger is specially developing very quickly on the frontier on Lahore side. Sikhs working on the fields are shot dead and their cattle lifted."

Master Tara Singh apprehends that if the present state of affairs continues, before long a considerable area extending up to Amritsar may have to be abandoned which will lay our sacred shrine there open to great danger. I cannot lay too much emphasis upon the desirability of taking immediate steps to satisfy the Sikh community that this danger will not be allowed to develop. You are probably fully aware that the community regards the sanctity of its shrines of paramount importance and will shirk no sacrifice to keep them safe. Already there have been some cases in which the Sikh Gurdwaras have been desecrated and burnt down in Lahore and elsewhere and the trouble at Nankana Sahib and the threat to it is in no small measure responsible for the sense of frustration and despair of the Sikh community.

Masterji in his letter to me has very aptly described the feelings of the Sikhs in this matter when he says:

> "We might die or perish, but we must protect the honour of Shri Darbar Sahib and not let it be desecrated while we are living. The Muslims have burnt down most of our historic Gurdwaras at Lahore and have desecrat-

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ed all. They have desecrated Gurdwara Kartar Pur Sahib at Ravi. . . . If Darbar Sahib is lost all is lost."

I feel sure that you will appreciate these feelings and do whatever is possible to reassure the community that such a danger will not be allowed to rear its head. I shall be grateful for an early reply as to what action you propose taking in this behalf so that I can pass on the information to Master Tara Singh and other Sikh leaders.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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22 September 1947

My dear His Highness,

Thank you for your letter of 13 September 1947.

I need hardly say that we are most sympathetic to the Sikh sentiment in regard to their shrines and the threat to the villages on the borders of India and Pakistan. When Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Sardar Swaran Singh were here last week, I discussed this particular matter with them and Sardar Swaran Singh promised to send me a note on the whole position, so that we might consider the problem in its defence aspect. I might also add that officially we were told that there had been eight raids from Pakistan to India and four in the reverse direction.

When Liaquat Ali Khan was here on Friday and Saturday, we discussed this particular matter with him and he promised to look into the matter and take all possible steps to check these raids from his side.

You can rest assured that we are keenly alive to this problem and will take early and effective action to put a stop to these raids.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major H.H. Maharajadhiraja
Sir Yadavendra Singh Bahadur
Chail (Patiala)

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Motibagh Palace
Patiala
2 November 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

The holocaust through which the Punjab has recently passed, and from which we have not yet emerged altogether, has brought considerable ruin, as you know, on the Sikh community in particular, as their losses in life and property are so enormous. The Sikhs have practically been crippled economically and politically, and their condition is deplorable. But the tragedy is further heightened by the fact that a very well organised propaganda is being carried on against them in America, Great Britain and other places outside India to fasten the guilt of blood upon them, although they are themselves the victims. I am sure you would agree that the Sikhs do not deserve it. They have been loyal to India in the past and no assurance is necessary that they will remain so in the future. They have fought for their mother country and brought glory to her. It will be their pride to practise that high ideal always. As such it is only natural that they should look to the Government of India for protection from such malicious attempt to paint them black. It is only the powerful effort of the Dominion Government which can counteract this ugly campaign outside India.

It is not in any spirit of bargaining that this suggestion is being made, but in the fullest confidence that the Government of India would feel that the community has to be rehabilitated not only within the country itself, but its position and name cleared up outside as well. They are entitled to assistance and protection from all those whom they regard as their well-wishers, and the Government of India are surely looked upon by them as such.

The Sikhs are not unmindful of the promises of support that they have received so far, and also realise that such assurances do buck them up, but the present situation is so perilous that something much more substantial is necessary to be done for this small community. If this is not forthcoming it is very difficult to say that they will be able to stick up much longer. There is the threat of war and the threat of famine. With the huge losses they

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have already suffered and the danger that lurks in the present situation they are really face to face with complete extinction. There are people who still want to continue giving blows to them and it seems as if the Sikhs will have to fight a losing battle if they do not receive the immediate and powerful support of the Government of India. I feel that it is time that the Cabinet took up all these matters, which are of immediate importance.

I would not have troubled you with this letter if I had not thought that the question brooks no delay. There are several other questions which affect the Panth, which can wait, and may be taken up later on, but this one needs immediate attention. They feel that they have been harmed almost beyond recovery.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

323

New Delhi
14 November 1947

My dear His Highness,

Thank you for your letter of 2 November 1947.

2. I need hardly say how much I appreciate the Sikh sentiments on the question of propaganda which has been spread in foreign countries about their responsibility for the recent disturbances and about the extent and magnitude of the atrocities committed. During my several discussions with you and other Sikh leaders I have never failed to present this question in its true perspective. In all our directives to foreign embassies and our information services we have asked them to present these disturbances in their true historical background tracing their origin right from 16 August last year when the League launched its Direct Action movement in Calcutta. We have also emphasised how the disturbances in the East Punjab were the direct consequence not only of the atrocities perpetrated on non-Muslims in the Western Punjab during March but also of the ceaseless propaganda of hate carried on by the League and their shouting from the house tops that the Sikh bluff had been called. In my own talks with foreign correspondents I have not failed to emphasise this aspect. I feel, judging from the reports, that on the whole this

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counter-propaganda has been having beneficial results and that people outside are beginning to realise increasingly that the blame does not rest entirely on Sikhs but has to be shared by other communities as well. You will notice that in my latest statement in reply to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's broadcast I made particular mention of this point.

3. From this I am sure you will realise that we are doing as much as we can to counter the propaganda to which you refer. You can depend on it that we shall continue to do so as long as it is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major His Highness Maharajadhiraja
Sir Yadavendra Singh
Patiala

324

New Delhi
28 November 1947

My dear His Highness,

I have received through Gandhiji the enclosed copy of a telegram about some abducted Muslim girls from Narnaul. I should be grateful if Your Highness would kindly inform me of the facts of this case, and if the allegation is correct, I am sure Your Highness will take necessary action for the restoration of these abducted women.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major H. H. Maharajadhiraja
Sir Yadavendra Singh
Patiala

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
28 November 1947

Dear Sir,

The enclosed telegram has been directed to Maulana Sahib by Mahatma Gandhi. He himself has received several telegrams to the same effect.

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Maulana Sahib will be thankful to Sardar Sahib if he kindly takes action in this regard.

Yours sincerely,
M. Ajmal Khan
PS to Maulana Sahib
[Maulana A. K. Azad]

The Private Secretary to
HM Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Jaipur
26 November 1947

Mahatma Gandhiji
Delhi

PRAY SECURE TWO THOUSAND ABDUCTED MUSLIM GIRLS FROM NARNAUL VILLAGE OR KINDLY ARRANGE LEADERS' DEPUTATION SEEING MAHARAJA PATIALA FOR AFORESAID PURPOSES UNDER INDIAN ARMY ESCORT.

PRESIDENT NARNAUL REFUGEES MUSLIM LEAGUE JAIPUR

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Patiala
18 December 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter of 28 November regarding abducted Muslim girls from Narnaul. Pandit Jawaharlal also handed me a list of some villages where certain abducted Muslim girls from Narnaul district were reported to be kept in non-Muslim houses. I have ordered an enquiry into the matter and also that steps be taken for the restoration of any girls who are found to have been thus abducted. I shall let you know the result in due course.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
5 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

[C. N.] Chandra has reported to me that Muslims in Delhi who are now moving to Pakistan are selling property at black-market prices because of competition amongst refugees from West Punjab who wish to invest whatever money they have in such properties. He has suggested that some action should be taken to control these transactions. He has drawn comparison between these black-market prices and the absence of purchasers for non-Muslim property in Western Punjab and has suggested that the unfavourable situation of non-Muslim property in West Punjab should be put right.

I agree with him and suggest that this matter may be put down for discussion at today's meeting.

Chandra has also suggested that East Punjab should announce as soon as possible where they are going to have their capital. Immediately this is done quite a large number of people who have migrated to Delhi will probably elect to go to this place and set up their new business in the hope of starting a new career in less competitive conditions than in Delhi. I suggest that this proposal may also be considered at today's meeting of the Cabinet.

Mr. Bhanju Ram Gandhi [former Finance Minister, NWFP] has seen Mr. Chandra and apprised him of the following position regarding Hindus and Sikhs in the NWFP.

D.I. Khan	10,000
Bannu	10,000
Kohat	1,000
Hazara	4,000
Peshawar	15,000
Mardan	4,000

Mr. Bhanju Ram has suggested the evacuation of these Hindus and Sikhs from the NWFP, and in the meantime the continuance of the non-Muslim military force in the NWFP until evacuation is completed and the posting of a Deputy High

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Commissioner there. This matter might also be discussed at today's meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

327

New Delhi
5 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Last night a large mob of Meos, some 500 or so, came out in Karolbagh and began demonstration in the streets. Subsequently the military party arrived and they dispersed. The situation, however, is extremely explosive and the non-Muslims in that area, who are in minority, are very apprehensive of an attack. I find from today's newspapers a report that the proposal is to transfer the Meos to West Punjab. The sooner this is done the better, but while this process goes on, and it is likely to take time, it would be better if they could all be concentrated in camps near Jama Masjid or elsewhere separated from the Hindu basties [localities] and kept well under guard. If once trouble starts in the city it will be difficult to check it. I know the local authorities have been very vigilant, still I thought it necessary to draw your attention to this fact.

There are one or two things which have been brought to my notice. I do not know about their correctness but if they are correct something should be done to remedy the resulting difficulties. I understand that a large number of police officers in charge of various police stations are Muslims. They are said to be from 70 to 80 in number. The Hindus are naturally apprehensive that they may not get protection from them when the trouble starts. Shops dealing in arms are also owned by Muslims and I am told there are at least three such shops. This has to be taken into consideration. There is a demand on the part of the Hindus of the city as distinguished from refugees that they (the residents of the city) should be provided with arms for self-defence against immigrants like the Meos. I am passing this on for your

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consideration. Whatever has to be done should be done without delay so that trouble may not start.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

After the above was typed, my attention was drawn to a letter of the Dawn correspondent published in this morning's (5 September) News Chronicle in which it is stated that permanent accommodation for a further quota of more than 35,000 Meo refugees has been provided for in Delhi. This is besides the 15,000 who had been here from before. It is also said that the Government of India has made a grant of 5 lakhs for the relief of Meos. All this is bound to inflame further the feelings. I do not know how far the news is correct. If not correct, it should be contradicted at once.

R.P.

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New Delhi
5 September 1947

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter dated 5 September 1947.

2. I am sending you herewith a copy of the Delhi Daily Situation Report for 4 September 1947 which will show what the factual position is in regard to attacks by one community or the other. You will notice that the attacks have been almost all one-sided and the aggressors have been Hindus or Sikhs. This seems sufficient to disprove the fears entertained by Hindus and reported to you. In the meantime, however, I realise the possible danger to law and order, health and sanitation of the city from the three camps in which Meos are at present housed; and we are trying to arrange their transfer to West Punjab by army trucks which are going to help the evacuation of refugees from East and West Punjab. It will not be possible, however, for the present Karolbagh camp to be transferred to Jama Masjid. The latter is already full of Meos in a very unsatisfactory condition. The danger to the health of the city from those unhygienic

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conditions is real, and to add to that population would mean enhancing that danger.

3. There is a sufficiently large number of Muslims amongst the police force in Delhi, but it is difficult to displace them because they are permanent Government servants, and to discharge them without any charge would involve the payment of compensation. We suggested to the Pakistan Government that they might exchange with us the staff in the Chief Commissioners' provinces who might opt for Pakistan with the staff in Baluchistan who might opt for India, but the Pakistan Government were unwilling and therefore the matter had to rest there. Nevertheless, we have been able to restore the balance in the representation of various communities in the upper ranks of the police force. As regards the lower ranks, the position is difficult, but I am trying to have the Muslim element rendered as innocuous as possible.

4. Regarding arms licences, we have already given licences to two or three Hindu dealers for the sale of arms. We have also, during the last six or eight months, been giving arms liberally to non-Muslim applicants, but it would be impossible during the present disturbed conditions of Delhi to embark on any more liberal policy, as in the present atmosphere surcharged with distrust, suspicion and grievances against Muslims for the tragedies of West Punjab, we cannot be certain that this would not be used in aggression against Muslims, thereby resulting in the creation of a complete state of lawlessness.

5. As regards the postscript in your letter, the news regarding finding permanent accommodation for a further quota of 35,000 Meo refugees is incorrect. I issued instructions about a week ago, and a Press Note also appeared that no more refugees could be accepted. There was a proposal, however, to transfer the Meo refugees to places near Purana Quila and Qutab Road, but it has not materialised and perhaps it will not be implemented at all. The Government of India have made no grants for the relief of Meos. You will recall that at the Cabinet meeting it was decided to make a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for relief of refugees. That amount has been placed at the disposal of the Refugee Commissioner, and out of that sum Rs. 50,000 have been granted to the Chief Commissioner for all refugees at present in Delhi. I am doubtful, however, whether we need give the matter such prominence as to issue a contradiction. Canards like this appear

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from time to time, and the best policy seems to be to ignore them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Minister for Food and Agriculture
New Delhi

329

New Delhi
10 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just heard from a source which appears to be reliable that there is a proposal to bring Baluchi troops into Delhi in order to guard the Meos and to escort them. From the account that we all hear there seems to be a large number of automatic weapons in the hands of Muslims in Delhi and it seems to me a most dangerous proposal that troops of this kind should be imported into Delhi for whatever purpose. There are not enough troops in Delhi for law and order purpose and if Baluchis are added, we may well have a catastrophe.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
12 September 1947

My dear Rajen Babu,

I have received your two letters of 9 and 10 September 1947 respectively.

2. I understand that arrangements for the regular clearance of food consignments from the station and their despatch to godowns and ration shops are well in hand and that they are working efficiently.

3. As regards arms, we are fully alive to the situation, and our efforts to detect illicit collections are meeting with some success.

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4. A control station has been established in the Town Hall. There is a large number of officers there and it is impossible for me to give the numbers, but if you would ask Chakradhar to get into touch with the Director of Telephones, he can get the necessary information.

5. Regarding the presence of Baluchi troops, I quite agree with you regarding the danger involved, but under the Lahore decisions, we are committed to have refugee camps guarded by the troops of the community which are accommodated in them. Apparently, the Supreme Commander could find only Baluchi troops for this purpose in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi

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PANDIT NEHRU'S NOTE FOR THE CABINET ON DELHI DISTURBANCES

The recent disturbances in Delhi have had far-reaching consequences already and are likely to have still more serious results both for Delhi city and the country. It is, therefore, necessary to lay down a clear policy which should be communicated to all civil and military personnel as well as to the public so that a common policy may be followed.

2. The first essential is to put an end to all lawlessness, murder, arson and loot, and to bring security to the citizens of Delhi. No progress can be made in any direction unless there is this sense of security. This is to be attained both by police and military action which should be preventive, protective and punitive according to circumstances and appeals as might influence public opinion and tone down the tension that has existed in the city. As a part of this policy law-breakers must be punished.

3. There are a very large number of Muslim evacuees from Delhi city in various camps. It is not the desire of Government to send away any citizen of Delhi against his will. Government believes that the vast majority of the citizens of Delhi of all communities had little part in the recent disturbances in the city. They have lived peacefully together for ages past and there is no reason why they should not do so in the future. Unfortunately events in the Punjab and elsewhere had brought tragedy and extreme sufferings and loss to vast numbers of human beings. Many of these unfortunate sufferers have found shelter in Delhi and their presence in large numbers has upset the normal balance of Delhi city. Efforts should be made as rapidly as possible

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so that the persons may settle down and find suitable vocations in some part of India. Till then these refugees, mostly from the West Punjab and the Frontier Province, should be suitably housed and looked after in camps where other accommodation is not available.

4. Muslim evacuees or refugees who are not residents of Delhi should be sent away from the city. Those who may come from the surrounding rural areas should be sent back to those areas, if they wish, as soon as normal conditions prevail. Others should be sent to Pakistan.

5. Muslim citizens and residents of Delhi should be afforded every opportunity of resuming their normal lives in Delhi city unless they themselves desire to go to Pakistan, in which case facilities for their going should be provided. Government, however, wish to make it clear that they do not wish to compel them to have such decision by force of circumstances upon them. They wish to retain in Delhi and in India all citizens who are loyal to India to whatever community they might belong.

6. As soon as normality is restored arrangements should be made for Muslim residents of Delhi, who are at present in various camps, to return to their houses in Delhi city. To begin with, security arrangements should be made in those areas of Delhi city where such Muslim residents reside.

7. Till such transfer to their previous houses they should be kept in camps where proper arrangements should be made for their housing, food, sanitation and medical relief.

8. It should be clearly understood that the houses vacated by Muslim evacuees continue to belong to them and that ownership and property in them cannot pass to another. So long as they are not taken possession of by their owners, a custodian of evacuee properties will hold them in trust and no arrangements should be made which come in the way of the return [to] their previous owners.

9. Steps must be taken as early as possible for the recovery of all unlicensed arms from all citizens irrespective of the communities to which they belong. A brief time-limit may be given to all residents to surrender all unlicensed arms within that period. In case of such surrender within the time-limit immunity from prosecution will be granted. After the expiry of that time all those possessing unlicensed arms will be dealt with according to law. Every effort will be made to recover all unlicensed arms by whomsoever possessed. It may even be necessary to limit the possession of licensed arms. Arms will include not only fire-arms but other prohibited arms and weapons.

10. During the last fortnight the Government and the citizens of Delhi have had to face a severe strain and the life of this capital city has been put out of joint. This has not only involved great suffering for the residents of the city but has also come in the way of the organisation which Government have

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been building up to succour those who looked to them for help and deliverance in Western Punjab and elsewhere. Owing to pre-occupation with events in Delhi, Government have been unable to take adequate steps to put down lawlessness in some places and to expedite the evacuation of those in West Punjab and elsewhere who have been in hourly peril. Though the situation is in many ways improving and is in hand, the crisis continues and there is grave danger if the machinery of Government is weakened in any way or diverted from its primary objects. At this critical juncture these primary objects are to maintain the safety and integrity of the State, to build its strength to meet all contingencies, to rescue speedily all those in the West Punjab or the Frontier Province or elsewhere who stand in peril and look to India for relief. These objects have the first priority; they are interrelated, for only with a strong Government can the rest be achieved rapidly and effectively.

11. Government, therefore, expect every citizen to do his duty in this hour of crisis. They have a right to demand full loyalty and discipline to the State. Any person who is unable to give this loyalty and allegiance to the State, which is his primary obligation, can expect no rights and privileges in the State.

12. The military and the police have special functions and arduous duties to perform during these abnormal times. On them depends in a large measure the security and the safety of the people. They have to set a high standard of loyalty to the State and of impartiality to all the citizens of the State. Government expect them to maintain this high standard of duty and thus earn the goodwill and confidence of their fellow citizens.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
18 September 1947

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New Delhi
20 September 1947

My dear Gopichand,

I am enclosing copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Mohammed Sharif. I should be glad if you would kindly have immediate enquiries made and inform me by telegram the result, so that I can send the information to Mr. Mohammed Sharif. I hope you will also instruct the District Magistrate of

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Ferozepore City to afford sufficient protection to the property mentioned in the letter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister
Government of East Punjab
Camp Jullundur

ENCLOSURE

Government of Pakistan
Ministry of Law and Labour
(Law Division)
Solicitor's Office
Karachi
17 September 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

In the Government of India, to the last, I was working with Sir George Spence and Sir Dhiren Mitra both of whom, had they been now in India, would have approached you on the subject. I have also had the privilege of meeting you personally on several occasions. But I am addressing this to you merely as a fellow human being.

My father, Maulvi Kamal-ud-Din, Advocate, Ferozepore City, was a Congressman since the earliest times. We are a singularly harmless family, bearing ill-will to none and having no enemies. After his death, our ancestral house at Chowk Imam Bara, Ferozepore City, (East Punjab) remained in the occupation of my mother and two young sisters all by themselves. But when the recent slaughter assumed serious proportions in the town, the helpless trio were caught in the panic, had to lock the house as it was in great haste and flee for their lives bare head and foot.

I have today been informed on the authority of a local (Hindu) officer of the Hydro-electric Department there that our house was broken open by the police and military and all the contents—furniture, carpets, other furnishings, ceiling fans and other fittings and installations, foodstuffs, household utensils (some very costly), plate, crockery, cutlery, bed-clothes, linen, wearing apparel, boxes, trunks and suit-cases, jewellery, cash, title-deeds, documents, books—the entire library of a first-class lawyer and scholar, souvenirs, keep-sakes, all that we held dear and sacred, in fact everything including our horse and carriage—were taken away and some undesirables put in possession of the house!

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I cannot believe this. But it leaves a very bad taste in the mouth. How to touch your heart? Must this be? Is there no remedy for such things in a well-organised Government? Can the answer suffice that such happenings were initiated elsewhere?

However, I venture to draw your personal attention pointedly to the incident. I would request you to kindly order an effective enquiry into the matter and arrange that I should know the result and get remedy at an early date.

I would further appeal to you to order that our houses, lands and belongings in Ferozepore district be protected.

Thanking you very much, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Mohammed Sharif

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 September 1947

My dear Gopichand,

Please see the enclosed letter from non-Muslim police officers of Multan district. Since you are so short of police officers, I think you should make arrangements through Major-General Chimni for priority evacuation of police officers and men not only in Multan but other places as well. This might, to a large extent, make up the deficiency in your police. Please let me know the action you take on this letter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister of East Punjab
Jullundur

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ENCLOSURE

Multan Cantt.
(West Punjab)
10 September 1947

The Hon'ble Home Member
Government of India
New Delhi

Our most beloved Leader,
Jai-Hind

We six hundred non-Muslim police officers and men including their families under orders of transfer to East Punjab were disarmed and confined in Lines Gurdwara and Mandir. We were mercilessly attacked by Muslim police and our property looted. In consequence of this incident a number of our officers and men received serious injuries at the hands of Muslims. We were, therefore, evacuated to the cantonment and confined in a deserted place with no arrangements for our protection. Multan is not a refugee camp and therefore there are no arrangements from the Government side to provide us food. We are starving and awaiting death every now and then. Similar is the case with all non-Muslim police in the six districts of the Multan Range. Your Government have doubtlessly many resources at their disposal but as far as we are concerned it is miserable that although the East Punjab police authorities have been made to understand our position by sending special messengers by aeroplanes no action for our evacuation has up to this time been taken.

Now we have to knock at your doors to kindly give this matter top priority and make arrangements for our safe passage to Indian soil. We are anxiously awaiting, though half-dead, the time when we will be serving our country and nation.

Yours most obedient servants,
Non-Muslim police officers
of Multan district

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
3 October 1947

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister
East Punjab
Jullundur

HAVE BEEN RECEIVING REPEATED REPORTS OF DISARMED POLICEMEN WHO HAVE OPTED FOR SERVICE IN EAST PUNJAB AND FAMILIES BEING STRANDED UNDER MOST DIFFICULT AND DISTRESSING CONDITIONS IN WEST PUNJAB. I HAVE ONCE OR TWICE ALREADY SUGGESTED TO YOU IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR EVACUATION AS A MOST READY MEANS OF RELIEVING DEFICIENCY OF POLICE IN EAST PUNJAB. I WOULD MOST STRONGLY URGE UPON YOU THE NEED FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION IN THIS MATTER.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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TELEGRAM

Amritsar
28 September 1947

Sardar Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

SIKH HINDU POPULATION OF WEST PUNJAB BEING WIPED OUT. MUSLIM MILITARY AND POLICE WORKING HAVOC. FOR GOD'S SAKE PRESS CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SEND SIKH HINDU MILITARY TO SAVE MILLIONS OF HINDUS SIKHS OTHERWISE TOO LATE. CHILDREN WOMEN AND MEN OF PUNJAB CRY FOR HELP FROM THEIR BRETHREN THROUGHOUT INDIA. PRAY FLY TO AMRITSAR AT ONCE.

TARASINGH MASTER

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New Delhi
6 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have a feeling that we have not fully appreciated the happenings in the Punjab and the enormous damage which Pakistan people and Government are inflicting on us. Their schemes have been pretty well laid. What they say in various conferences and public statements is quite contrary to their acts, and it does by now seem that it is the deeds of the underlings which reflect the truth to things; and if this is not so then I have not the least hesitation in saying that no Government functions in the West Punjab. One of the matters of grave concern is the plight of non-Muslim youth particularly, young girls who have been systematically abducted. The design seems to be to ruin the martial people.

So far as abductions are concerned, there is not a single village or town in the West Punjab which has not suffered. The number of women abducted is large and seems to follow a pattern. I have been told that in Shakargarh tehsil about 500 young girls were removed from the families of "Dutt" Muhiyals alone who have been settled from times immemorial in the villages of Kanjrur Dattan, Virum Dattan, Fatehpore, Nangal, Mianwali and Kapurdev. Many of these unfortunate girls are reported to be lodged in the surrounding villages. The number of abductions in the whole district of Sialkot and Shakargarh tehsil is said to be more than 20,000. This is perhaps an exaggerated figure but I will not be surprised if it is correct. Recovery has been practically nothing. A young officer, Lt. G. N. Sinha now in the Kumaon Regimental Centre, Agra, who was previously in the Boundary Force, is said to be in possession of a good deal of information. I am making arrangements to send for him to get some definite clues.

A plan to rescue abducted girls has been suggested as follows:

1. rescue officers be appointed in both the dominions;
2. such officers be notified to the respective Governments;

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3. respective Governments will be responsible for the life and property of these officers, as also for the life and property of their establishment, which those officers might employ in that territory;
4. such officers and staff be afforded all possible help by the police and military of the respective Governments as and when required;
5. some dominion military might also be allowed in the other dominion for this work, as is allowed for the protection of convoys;
6. a joint statement by both the Premiers be issued at once on such agreed facilities so that rescue work can start immediately on scientific lines.

To facilitate this work, it is absolutely essential to also organise a secret service. Some of our enthusiastic young men are prepared to even embrace Islam to act as informers in that area. This seems to me the only way we can get reliable information and I feel we should not hesitate to take help of such people. These men might be regularly employed by the Intelligence Department under a special superintendent of police. Some details have been suggested of this organisation necessary and I give them here for consideration:

> The superintendent of police and 20 deputy superintendents of police of the highest integrity should be selected from amongst the existing police force. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh will supply trained men for "field work" and Shri Golwalkarji, the head of the Sangh in India, might be consulted. Other such organisations in the Punjab, still secretly working, can also be asked to give help.

I shall be glad if you will kindly give this matter your serious thought and let me know if something can be done.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Copy to:
The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 6 October 1947 regarding the recovery of abducted women. I quite agree that the problem is very serious and of large proportion and should be tackled effectively as soon as possible. I remember at one of the joint conferences it was decided that this question should be actively pursued, but I do not know what has been done about it. I suggest that you take this matter up at either a Cabinet meeting or an emergency Cabinet Committee meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Defence Minister
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami,

You must have seen this morning Liaquat Ali's statement on the question of evacuation of Muslims from India. I also enclose a cutting from today's Times of India containing Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman's statement on the same subject.

It is quite clear that the Pakistan Government want to make out that we wish to drive out the Muslims, whereas they are trying their best to keep the non-Muslims in Pakistan. I am issuing a statement separately about Liaquat Ali's criticism of my speech at Amritsar. I suggest that you and Neogy should put out a statement in regard to the matters in Liaquat Ali's statement with which you are concerned. In doing so, you may take note of Khaliq-uz-Zaman's statement as well. Of course, the line to take would be that, despite our efforts and despite the fact that in 80

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per cent of India Muslims are living in peace and amity, some are wanting to leave from areas outside East Punjab and there is no question of our compelling anyone to leave. The statement would have to be very strong in order that this false propaganda is effectively scotched.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

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New Delhi
23 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please refer to your letter of 18 October 1947 regarding searches. The orders about searches are clear and unequivocal. No outgoing passengers are to be searched at all and searches of incoming passengers are to be conducted only where there is a definite and well-founded suspicion that unlicensed firearms and ammunition are being brought into Delhi. It is clear that if any police officer gives a twist to these instructions or claims orders from any higher authority, he is deliberately ignoring the orders or finding an excuse for his exceeding the instructions.

2. You had an occasion to complain about the search of Suhrawardy and about which you spoke to Shankar some time ago. Enquiries were made and it transpired that Suhrawardy himself was not searched at Palam aerodrome when he returned to Delhi from Calcutta, but his luggage was. He was not subjected to any harassment whatsoever. On another occasion the Special Police and the local police at Willingdon aerodrome were going to examine his luggage but eventually did not do so when they learnt of his identity.

3. As regards Sir Sultan Ahmed,[1] when he was approached by our SP, he was unaware of any search and was surprised to learn that any search had at all taken place. His private secretary told the SP that Sir Sultan Ahmed left Delhi for Hyderabad

[1] Judge, Patna High Court, 1919-20; Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, 1922-30; Member, Governor's Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa, 1932; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1937 and 1941-45; Legal Adviser to Chamber of Princes, 1945-47

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on 28-9-47 and returned on 30 September 1947 by Deccan Airways. He was not searched on 28-9-47, but on 30 September, his luggage was searched along with the luggage of other passengers partly because the CP Government had given an intimation that by this plane, which was coming from Hyderabad, some illicit arms were being smuggled and partly because a telephonic conversation had been intercepted between Hyderabad House and Hyderabad which confirmed CP's report and showed that some Bren guns and Sten guns had been asked for by the Hyderabad House staff. In view of this I think it was a reasonable precaution to take to search the luggage of passengers coming from Hyderabad that day.

4. As regards Dr. Syed Hussain's[1] luggage, it has been ascertained that he travelled by air from Calcutta on the 15th inst. arriving at Palam at about 12 or 12.30. After the passengers had alighted and their luggage had been put outside the main waiting hall, the luggage of Muslim passengers was set aside under instructions of an aerodrome officer and then searched by the police. The persons of men and women were not searched. This is the information given to the SP by Dr. Syed Hussain himself and bears out the police officer's report as well. The police officer conducting searches undoubtedly exceeded his authority and gave a false excuse for his action. This particular officer has been transferred and departmentally dealt with.

5. I am sure you will agree that the present instructions which I have mentioned in para 1 above are necessary and searches must be carried out in accordance with those instructions. We are not yet out of the wood in Delhi and we cannot rule out the possibility of attempts being made to import illicit arms in Delhi. We must retain, therefore, the liberty to search persons and luggage suspected of importing illicit arms. What is, therefore, necessary is to see that these instructions are strictly adhered to by the police officials responsible for searches at aerodromes. I am writing to the IGP to tell these officials that any abuse of these instructions and/or any improper conduct in relation to these searches would be severely dealt with.

6. The IGP has also sent to me a copy of the letter which he received from the Secretary of the Commonwealth Relations wing of your Ministry. It is dated 20 October 1947, and quotes your order and asks for a report in the course of the day. I am doubtful if the letter issued with your authority. Since you

[1] Edited Motilal Nehru's daily, the Independent of Allahabad; lived in USA, 1920-1946, to advocate India's liberation; first Indian Ambassador to Egypt

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had already written to me on the subject on the 18th and since I was already seized of the matter, there was hardly any point in the IGP being approached direct by your secretary on the same matter. I feel that it is only right and proper that such matters should be brought to my notice in the first instance and should not be taken up direct with the officers serving under me. Some time ago I suggested that any matter on which you desired information or wanted comments should either be referred to me by you or to my private secretary by your secretariat. Apparently that suggestion has not been followed up and has resulted again in duplication and unnecessary effort which it was the object of my suggestion to avoid. I would, therefore, request you to ask your office to follow the procedure suggested by me.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
24 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 23 October about searches of Muslim passengers. Naturally where there is any definite suspicion, a search should be made. My information was, however, that all Muslim passengers were asked as they alighted from the plane to separate themselves for purposes of search. Their persons were not searched but all their luggage was thoroughly examined.

About a letter sent to the IGP from my office, I do not see any kind of impropriety in information being asked for by them directly. Confusion might arise in issuing any orders and it would be improper for any orders to be issued without your knowledge. Many points of information are frequently necessary and they are asked for directly in order to save time. In regard to the IG of Police, Delhi, this appears to be the natural course. As a matter of fact I have been seeing him from time to time also to find out what the position was.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
24 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Gopichand regarding refugees from Wah camp.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Camp Jullundur
19 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I write this to inform you that non-Muslim refugees arriving from Wah camp report that they were thoroughly searched by the Pakistan police before leaving and that their sewing machines, radios, cycles etc. were seized. This shows that searches are still taking place in the West Punjab.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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6 King Edward Road
New Delhi
27 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Enclosed please find the letter I have received from Mr. Zahid Husain. I hope it would be possible to trace the missing girl.

Yours sincerely,
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS

Office of the High Commissioner
For Pakistan in India
New Delhi
23 October 1947

Dear Kidwai,

On my round to the refugee camp in the Fort, I came to know that one of the girls of Mr. Rafi-ud-Din living in house No. 559 in Aligunj, was kidnapped by a Sikh during the disturbances.

I shall be grateful if you will help in the matter.

Yours faithfully,
Zahid Husain

The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

[1] Joined Congress in non-co-operation movement; member and whip, Swaraj Party, in Central Assembly, 1926-29; member, CWC, 1956; Minister in UP, 1936-39 and 1946; member, CA; later Central Minister of Communications and Food in Nehru Cabinet

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New Delhi
19 December 1947

My dear Rafi,

Please refer to your letter dated 27 October 1947 regarding the alleged abduction by a Sikh of the daughter of one Mr. Rafi-ud-Din. The police have made enquiries, but no trace of the Muslim girl has been found. Mr. Rafi-ud-Din seems to have gone to Pakistan. If you could get some further particulars about this incident from Mr. Rafi-ud-Din the matter could be further pursued.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
Minister for Communications
New Delhi

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New Delhi
4 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You must have heard of the plight of the refugees in Karnal, Panipat, etc. I am greatly disturbed at the way the East Punjab Government is dealing with this matter. They cast the blame on us for everything although the Central Government is doing its utmost to help them and the refugees. This is a completely irresponsible way of functioning. Again the Sikhs or some of them are misbehaving very much in various places. The Home Department and the police in the East Punjab are dominated by the Sikh element. Unless something about this is done, the Hindus of the East Punjab will suffer very greatly as they are suffering now. I enclose a copy of a telegram I am sending to Dr. Gopichand Bhargava.

The condition of East Punjab refugees in Delhi is also very bad. Some of the small camps, like Wavell Canteen, are full to overflowing and the railway station is in a very bad way. While

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we should try to stop this influx, we cannot leave these people in their present state.

We have been anxious not to open a new camp but I really see no way out of the difficulty except by opening a refugee camp for Hindus and Sikhs. This need not be on a very big scale and no protection will be necessary for them as in the case of the Muslims. If we do not do this, these people, wandering about Delhi and squatting down [at] odd places, will do harm to themselves and to us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
5 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 November 1947. I have seen the telegram which you have sent to Dr. Gopichand Bhargava. I entirely agree with you that the administration of the East Punjab requires tightening up. The whole point is that the Services there are so deeply affected, both personally and intimately, by recent events in the Punjab that efficient and impartial administration seems to be most difficult to secure. The outlook of the general public, be it Hindu or Sikh, finds a responsive echo among the Services. As regards the Cabinet, you know what is wrong and where.

The cumulative effect of all these factors is that the whole tone of the administration has deteriorated. What we can do to restore this is a problem which has been continually disturbing me. I hope your telegram meets with some effective response.

I agree that the influx of refugees, much against our will and policy, has been creating a most difficult problem. Rather than open a camp here, I would suggest that we arrange to send as many of them as possible to the camp at Kurukshetra. In addition, we have the problem of refugees from Kashmir. Some 1,000 are lodged in Birla Mandir alone. They would probably have nowhere else to go and have to be kept in Delhi.

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi some time ago had set up a committee to deal with refugees. I do not know how far that

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has functioned, since the matter soon after became the concern of the Refugee Ministry. I have no objection to another camp being opened for these refugees, provided we at the same time ensure that the influx of further refugees in Delhi is effectively controlled. You will doubtless take up these matters with the Minister for Refugees.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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Patiala
2 November 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Information has reached me that a very large number of 'birs' (volumes) of Shri Guru Granth Sahib are now in Sargoda, Gurdwara Bhai Dayal at Multan and other Gurdwaras in the West Punjab. At Multan there are also some very old records and books of great historic importance and value to the Sikh community, which are at present guarded by a small band of Sikhs at considerable peril to themselves. As you are no doubt aware, the sanctity that the Sikhs attach to Shri Guru Granth Sahibs is so great that the danger of their defilement is likely to provide the greatest provocation. I am, therefore, writing to you to do whatever may be possible to get these 'birs' and historical records and books, together with the men who are now there, out with as little delay as possible. I would strongly urge that the quickest method should be employed for this purpose so that the community becomes reassured.

Besides this the protection and maintenance of our historic shrines on the other side is also deeply agitating the Sikh community. The present position seems to be that only a few sewadars are looking after the shrines, but even they are in constant danger and without adequate protection. Since there are also Muslim shrines in the East Punjab, I would suggest that arrangements on a reciprocal basis should be made with the West Punjab Government that all these shrines are looked after by those people on both sides who want to stay there and who should be provided adequate protection for the purpose. I consider this matter also of supreme importance, because such an assurance on both sides

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is likely to go a long way to avoid further deterioration of the situation. I am writing this to you as I know you to be a friend of the Khalsa [Sikh community].

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh as well, and shall be grateful if the Government of India would interest themselves actively in this matter with the least possible delay and take necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh Mahindar Bahadur

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New Delhi
16 November 1947

My dear Maharaja,

Thank you for your letter of 2 November 1947, regarding the sacred books of Sikhs. The question has already been referred to the Pakistan Government, but we have had no reply. It will probably be discussed at our next meeting with the Pakistan Ministers.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major His Highness
Sir Yadavendra Singh Mahindar Bahadur, GBE
Patiala

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New Delhi
14 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

You have already received a letter from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding some sacred and historical records and books of Sikhs and the Sikh shrines in the West Punjab. I feel that we must tackle this question as promptly as possible, otherwise even if we are able to carry through the programme of exchange of population this sore point would remain to disturb seriously the peace between the two provinces and finally the two dominions. The subject needs, in my opinion, comprehensive treatment and the best way to deal with it would

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perhaps be to go into it at your next meeting with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

2. If you agree, I shall inform the Maharaja of Patiala accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
15 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of the 14th about the sacred books of the Sikhs in the West Punjab. Some days ago I telegraphed to the Pakistan Government and the West Punjab Government about these books. I do not think any reply has come. This matter might well be taken up at our next meeting with the Pakistan Ministers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
21 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have written to Neogy regarding the creation of compact Muslim blocks in Delhi. To me it appears that this policy is entirely wrong and fraught with serious consequences. In the endorsement to the memorandum which has issued on this subject there is a reference to [H.V.R.] Iengar's D.O. letter No. D/S/1229. It is possible, therefore, that this decision was taken on a communication from your secretariat. I thought it best, therefore, to apprise you of my views on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
21 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

I have just now seen an office memorandum signed by [S. K.] Kirpalani intimating that it has been decided that houses in certain predominantly Muslim mohallas in Delhi, which have fallen vacant, should not be let to non-Muslim refugees, but given instead only to Muslims so that certain mohallas could form compact Muslim blocks in the city. As far as I know, there is no Cabinet decision on this matter. If any such decision was reached, it is obvious that it has wide repercussions from the internal security point of view and I feel that I, as Home Minister, should have been consulted before this decision was reached.

2. The dangers and evils of predominantly Muslim or predominantly Hindu areas in the city or outside have been clearly and unmistakably emphasised during the last disturbances. I thought we should be wise after this experience, but I regret to find that the decision which has been notified to all of us is going to perpetuate these dangers and instead of increasing mutual confidence and trust between the major communities it is going to create eyesores and miniature Pakistans and Hindustans in the whole city.

3. I should be grateful if you would kindly apprise me of the circumstances leading to this decision and would also withhold the implementation of those orders until the matter has been considered in all its aspects and a policy decision taken.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri K. C. Neogy
Minister for Relief & Rehabilitation
New Delhi

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New Delhi
21 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your letter of the 21st enclosing a copy of the letter sent to Neogy.

2. I have not seen Iengar's letter to which you refer. But probably it was based on a talk I had with him. Nobody likes compact Muslim or any such blocks in a city. The normal population of a city should be evenly divided. The problem however was not of having a compact Muslim block but of preventing trouble spreading to those two or three areas in Delhi city where Muslims still live in some numbers. Cases have been reported to me where houses vacated by Muslims in a predominantly Muslim mohallah were occupied by non-Muslims, usually Sikhs. Immediately petty trouble arose there between the new-comers and the old residents and this tended to grow. The Muslims in that mohallah were threatened by the new-comers and in view of the prevailing atmosphere these Muslims were frightened and many of them left their houses and went to Humayun's Tomb.

3. As I understood our policy, it was to create conditions of security for those Muslims to live in Delhi as well as those who had left Delhi and might want to come back. We have so far failed to create that feeling to any appreciable extent, with the result that the population of Humayun's Tomb has increased. If this process continues there is little doubt that more and more resident Muslims of Delhi will be forced by circumstances to leave the city.

4. As you know, this matter was repeatedly discussed in the Emergency Committee meeting and the general direction given was that Muslims should be encouraged to remain in the areas they live in and nothing should be done to create any apprehension in their minds. The recent AICC decisions went much further in this respect and even stated that Muslim houses which have been vacated under pressure of events should not be given to refugees. In fact the whole policy laid down by the AICC is to prevent a Muslim exodus and to keep the door open for Muslims to return to their original homes. How far it is possible to keep

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houses vacated by Muslims vacant in very large numbers is exceedingly doubtful, especially where the whole areas have been so vacated. The question then arises as to what we should do with empty houses in the few predominantly Muslim localities. It seems to be inevitable that if these houses are handed over to non-Muslims, there will be continuing trouble and the impression will grow that we want to drive out the remaining Muslims from the city. That would be a direct contradiction of what we have stated and [of] the policy laid down by the AICC.

5. As things are today it is an unfortunate fact that frightened people tend to leave and to go for security and self-protection. Very few Muslims can find houses or any security in predominantly non-Muslim areas. I hope that some time later this difficulty will cease to operate and a mixed and balanced population will grow up. Meanwhile we have to face the situation as it is and there seems to be no way out, if we have to adhere to our professions, than to avoid giving houses vacated by Muslims in a predominantly Muslim mohalla to non-Muslims.

6. There is also the question of some Muslims wanting to go back to Delhi city from some camp or wherever they might be. Where are they to go? Also there is a relatively minor question of some Congress Muslims who have been turned out of their homes elsewhere finding some place to live in. We have to find answers to these questions.

7. When I was informed that actually some Sikhs had taken possession of some houses in a Muslim mohalla and created trouble there and as a consequence neighbouring Muslims were leaving their houses, I told Iengar to mention to Kripalani that this kind of thing must not be encouraged and that such Muslim houses should not be given over to others. I suppose that in persuance of this that Iengar wrote his letter.

8. I am told that there is trouble again in Bara Hindu Rao because of some similar development there. I feel that if we are serious about the policy we have laid down we must not only clearly state it but see that it is acted upon. Any half-hearted attempt to implement it would be unfortunate and would lead to confusion and failure.

9. If you feel that what I have stated above is not a correct policy for us, I shall gladly put up this matter before the Cabinet. Indeed it is desirable that the directions given by the AICC should be considered by the Cabinet in their entirety, that is, insofar as they apply to the situation confronting us. I

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was in fact going to send copies of these resolutions to the provincial Prime Ministers as well as to some Members of our Cabinet who are dealing with these matters.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 21 November 1947. I need hardly say that I am in entire agreement with the policy laid down by the AICC. I also fully agree that the Cabinet should consider at an early date in what manner we should apply the directions of the AICC to the situation which is confronting us.

2. It is because I sincerely felt and still feel that the creation of Muslim pockets would be directly contrary to that policy that I ventured to take this matter up with Neogy. Creation of Muslim pockets in the city would not restore conditions of security. Instead it would lead to constant friction and conflict between rival camps entrenched in their respective positions. I also feel that the mere fact that a certain number of wrong type of persons settled in some localities have given rise to some trouble should not be decisive. We could replace them by better elements. It is also difficult to believe that in a predominantly Muslim locality a few non-Muslims could create a situation which would compel Muslims to leave the locality. The answer in such cases is to replace the unruly elements and to make adequate security arrangements to ensure that this kind of mixed locality prospers rather than vanishes. I also feel that the notion that Muslims can feel or can be given a sense of security only in Muslim mohallas is a negation rather than corollary of the AICC resolution. In any case Muslims from outside should not be imported into mohallas of Delhi.

3. In these circumstances I would suggest that the matter had better be discussed by the Cabinet before any further action is taken to implement the proposal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
9 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing a note which, if you agree, might be circulated to the Cabinet for discussion at its next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

NOTE FOR THE CABINET

Reference Cabinet decision on Thursday, 4 December 1947, regarding predominantly Muslim mohallas.

I have been carefully considering the implications of that decision and feel that before it is implemented my colleagues should be apprised of certain facts which, in my view, are essential to a consideration of this problem. The predominantly Muslim mohallas had before these disturbances began a small percentage of Hindu houses. According to a rough calculation, Balimaran and Lal Kuan had about 100, Phatak Habash Khan 60 and Pul Bangesh 100. Most of the Hindus had to leave their houses in the September rioting, but many of them have now come back and have re-occupied those houses. During the previous riots of November 1946 in these localities 14 Hindus were killed and 57 injured and during the riots of March 1947 five Hindus were killed and 13 were injured. This would seem to suggest that in times of disturbances it is the non-Muslims rather than the Muslims who require protection and the creation of Muslim mohallas would merely mean the creation in times of disturbances of pockets in which the lawless elements amongst Muslims would have full sway.

2. I have also received a suggestion from the Delhi Administration that in the vacant houses in the so-called 'Muslim mohallas' Government servants who have come from Pakistan and who would be subject to our control should be settled so that there would be no danger to the Muslims from any lawless elements and owing to the presence of Government servants there there was

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bound to be a greater sense of security. I feel that the suggestion is a sound one and should be accepted.

3. As regards the further question of importing Muslim refugees from outside, I should like to draw the attention of my colleagues to the latest report from the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, in which he makes the following statement:

> "If the influx of refugees continues unchecked, the situation will again deteriorate. The entire brunt of the Punjab population movement has been borne by Delhi as the UP Government no longer allow refugees to enter their province. The results of such a policy have been seen in September last. If peace is to be maintained in the Capital, it is desirable that the surplus refugee population must be shifted elsewhere and further influx of refugees must be stopped. A population equilibrium has been established and Muslims are slowly acquiring a sense of security."

V. J. Patel
Home Minister

9-12-'47

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New Delhi
12 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 December 1947 regarding Sudhir. I am more anxious than anybody else can be to arrange for Sudhir's return as soon as possible and not to keep him there for a day longer than is necessary. I have already received a telegram from him that he is leaving London next Tuesday and will be here on Thursday. I hope it will set at rest your anxiety about the functioning of India House.

2. After my return from the Cabinet meeting, I saw the note circulated by the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry regarding houses vacated by the Muslims in Delhi with particular reference to predominantly Muslim mohallas. I was particularly struck by the following statement:

> "No break-up can be provided as the survey of houses cannot be safely undertaken by Hindus in Muslim areas. There are also very few vacancies as the owners have made some kind of arrangement for looking after their houses in their absence."

I am wondering whether the assumption on which our discussions in the Cabinet were based, namely, that Muslims in predominantly Muslim mohallas suffered from a sense of insecurity

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is correct. If a Hindu official cannot even dare go into Muslim areas and whether, having regard to the actual dimensions of the problem, as revealed by this statement, all this attention to this problem was worth giving.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
27 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The position of Muslims, especially the business community, in Delhi has become very precarious. In Chandni Chowk only three or four Muslim shops are left. From reliable reports received by me, it appears that non-Muslims go to the shopkeepers daily and threaten them with naked swords if they still refuse to evacuate and even snatch away their goods. One shopkeeper, Mohd. Shafi, who has been a genuine Congressman for the last fifteen years and who was boycotted by the Muslim Leaguers, is one such sufferer. This poor man at least expected to be given some protection and special consideration, looking to his political affiliation; but unfortunately even his shop is visited daily by these gangs, and when he appeals to the police, nothing is done.

I should be grateful if you could kindly let me know what advice in these circumstances I can give to these Muslim shopkeepers of Chandni Chowk.

Yours sincerely,
Abul Kalam Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
1 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had written a letter to you on 27 November 1947 about the position of the Muslim shopkeepers in Chandni Chowk. I should be grateful if you could kindly let me know what has been done in this matter.

The second matter which I would like to bring to your notice is the question of Khaksar prisoners who are in Delhi jails. The relatives and friends of these prisoners have written to me to say that they are being ill-treated and that if they are released they will go to Pakistan. I know nothing about the details of their cases, but you may now like to consider the desirability of sending them to Pakistan rather than detaining them here.

Yours sincerely,
Abul Kalam Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
3 December 1947

My dear Maulana Sahib,

Thank you for your letter dated 27 November 1947 regarding the position of Muslims. I am having enquiries made and will write to you again as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Minister for Education
New Delhi

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New Delhi
5 December 1947

My dear Maulana Sahib,

In continuation of my letter dated 3 December 1947, I am enclosing a copy of the report which I have received from the Superintendent of Police, Delhi, on the situation in Delhi with particular reference to the case of Mr. Mohd. Shafi. I also give below a copy of the forwarding remarks of the DIG Police:

> "I am enclosing herewith a copy of a report submitted by Fairhall who, as you know, is Superintendent of Police in charge Delhi city. Fairhall has rather put the matter strongly, but I agree with him on facts, and cannot think of any reason why Mohd. Shafi did not approach him while Fairhall is present within 300 yards of Mohd. Shafi's shop.
>
> "Regarding the general position in Chandni Chowk and other places in the city, there has been a great improvement during the last few weeks. But it is impossible to ensure that no crime is committed in a big city. What I want to prevent is a general feeling of lawlessness and I am glad to say that this has been checked to a great extent."

I have nothing to add to these remarks.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE, DELHI, ON THE SITUATION IN DELHI

I have to report as follows:

i. In my opinion, bearing in mind the circumstances prevailing, the position of the Muslims, especially the business community in Delhi, is on the whole satisfactory. It is certainly better than could be expected and this is due to the police department's superhuman efforts to be sincere executors of Government's policy.

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2. It is completely false that Muslim shopkeepers are daily threatened with naked swords etc. Naturally non-Muslim refugees, who have lost their all, resent the comparative prosperity of the Muslims in Delhi; when occasionally this resentment shows any tendency to lawlessness, the police immediately restore the situation.

3. Mohammed Shafi of Chandni Chowk has been, and is still being, given every police protection. It is not only false but completely mischievous for him to state that when he appeals to the police nothing is done. Since I have been i/c City I have personally noticed a picket permanently outside his shop. Moreover he has never cared to complain direct to me although my office is only 300 yards from his shop. Nor have I received any complaints from him through the DIG. Apparently it is Mohd. Shafi's policy to go straight to the highest places with complaints which do not bear inspection.

4. For the future I have advised Mohd. Shafi to come direct to me at the Kotwali if he has any complaint, and I have assured him of every assistance.

5. In conclusion I must record that it is most discouraging to have complaints of this nature when the Police Department is putting forth its sincerest efforts to protect minorities under extremely difficult circumstances.

C. H. Fairhall
Supdt. of Police
City, Delhi

DIG
4-12-1947

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New Delhi
10 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 5 December and for the note of the Superintendent of Police, Delhi, which was enclosed with it. The conditions as depicted in the note are encouraging, but, unfortunately, looking to the tension which still prevails, I wonder how much value we can really place on this note.

Yesterday, for instance, a Muslim was stabbed in the Custodian's office while he was there in connection with his case. The assailant got away, and as far as my information goes, no effort was made to arrest him. If the police really wanted to take strong preventive measures such incidents could hardly take place in broad daylight in a Government office.

Yours sincerely,
Abul Kalam Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Government House
Ranchi
11 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have been receiving letters and telegrams about the worsening situation in Sind. Migration on an increased scale in the usual unorganised way is rapidly progressing. I think adequate anticipatory arrangements for organised evacuation under military guard would avoid great misery. I think people from Sind must have written to [you] or seen you. Shri Kishinchand Lunidasing Bajaj, president, Shikarpuri Panchayat, Bombay, writes that he and some others would be coming to see you at Delhi. I hope it will be possible for you to give them a little time. I can realise the pressure under which the Government of India has to deal with trying situations in so many directions simultaneously. I hope you will be able to include Sind also in the arrangements being made for the Punjab refugees and the refugees from Sind might be included in the allotments of refugees made or to be made to different provinces. This would prevent unnecessary distress and discontent.

I hope you are keeping fit despite the strain.

Love for Maniben.

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas[1] [Doulatram]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] MLC (Bombay) 1927-29; General Secretary, AICC, 1931-34; member, Congress Working Committee; member, CA, 1946; Bihar Governor, 1947; later Union Food Minister and Governor, Assam

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TELEGRAM

19 September 1947

From Governor Bihar Ranchi
To Foreign New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL. BEGINS NEWS FROM SIND DATED 14TH REACHING ME TONIGHT INDICATES SEVERAL THOUSANDS WAITING AT HYDERABAD STATION ANXIOUS TO LEAVE SIND. DESPITE THREE TRAINS CARRYING DAILY FOUR THOUSAND PASSENGERS NUMBER OF REMAINING PASSENGERS CONTINUE SWELLING. ATTITUDE OF MILITARY CIVIL AUTHORITIES POLICE AND MOSLEM NATIONAL GUARD EXTREMELY HOSTILE SUBJECTING PASSENGERS VARIOUS HUMILIATIONS ILLTREATING [manhandling] ASSAULTING GENTRY SEARCHING PASSENGERS INCLUDING WOMEN TRAINS DETAINED FOR HOURS FOR THIS PURPOSE. VALUABLES ORNAMENTS SEWING MACHINES RADIOS JEWELLERY CUTLERY SILVERWARE GOLD ARTICLES SILKEN WOOLLEN CLOTHES BEING CONFISCATED WITHOUT RECEIPTS BEING ISSUED. PEOPLE LEFT BEHIND IMMOVABLE PROPERTIES WORTH CRORES OF RUPEES ARE THUS BEING DEPRIVED OF VALUABLES AND MOVABLE PROPERTIES. THIS TREATMENT IS INTENSIFYING DESIRE LEAVING SIND AND MAKING SITUATION MORE DIFFICULT TO HANDLE. PEOPLE URGE IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENT OF ADEQUATE MILITARY FROM INDIAN UNION TO HELP PEACEFUL MIGRATION. EARLY ACTION MAY PREVENT SERIOUS DETERIORATION OF SITUATION. KINDLY FIX PROGRAMME OF EFFECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS WITH PAKISTAN PRIME MINISTER ENDS.

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Government House
Ranchi
24 September 1947

My dear Maniben,

I was glad to hear your clear voice on the phone the other day. We all are keeping well and fit. I had intended to write to you oftener but it has not been possible. I have had to remain very busy as people expect so many things from an Indian Governor.

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I hope Sardar is keeping fit in spite of the pressure of the work on him and the strain of what is happening in Delhi. I am sending you the main part of a telegram I have received from the Jodhpur office of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee which has been set up to attend to the difficulties of people who have migrated from Sind. You will please put it up before Sardar.

I see that Dr. Choithram[1] has come to Delhi. I believe he must have seen Sardar. Their needs seem to be a sufficient number of special trains to remove all those who voluntarily wish to leave Sind under safe custody. Coal, foodgrains and escort are being asked for. I hope Sardar will be able to make some arrangements.

Love from self

Affectionately,
Jairamdas

Miss Maniben Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM FROM THE SECRETARIES-IN-CHARGE JODHPUR OFFICE OF THE SIND PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

ARRANGE SPECIAL TRAINS COAL FOODGRAINS MILITARY ESCORTS FOR SPEEDY SAFE EVACUATION. . . . NON-SINDHI ELEMENT BHAIYAS MARWARIS GUJARATIS MADRASIS MAHRATTAS SIKHS LEAVING FOR HOMELANDS. . . . ECONOMIC LIFE IN SIND HAS ALREADY COLLAPSED. REPORTS [from] KARACHI HYDERABAD OTHER IMPORTANT TOWNS [say] BUSINESS THERE AT STANDSTILL. NATIONAL GUARDS POLICE CIVIL AUTHORITY EVEN MILITARY IN COLLABORATION SEARCHING PROPERTIES CONFISCATING ANYTHING THEY LIKE NO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICIALS HINDU ZAMINDARS LEAVING THEIR LANDS WITH CROPS. MIGHTILY AFRAID ADJOINING MUSLIM ZAMINDARS. . . . JOURNEY BY N. W. RAILWAY RISKY AS DAILY SOME INCIDENTS MEN BEING EITHER STABBED IN TRAINS OR THROWN OUT OF TRAINS. . . . MUSLIM REFUGEES ARRIVING SIND QUITE LARGE NUMBERS ACCOMMODATED HEART CITIES. . . . RIOTS AT DELHI OTHER PLACES HAVING SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS IN SIND HINDUS APPREHEND IF THEY NOT RESCUED IN TIME THEY WOULD BE SUBJECTED TWO ALTERNATIVES ISLAM OR DEATH. PRAY [place] THIS POINT VIEW BEFORE MAHATMA AND WORKING COMMITTEE TELEGRAPHICALLY. . . . ARRANGE SPEEDY HONOURABLE MASS MIGRATION THROUGH MILITARY ESCORTS. ALSO PLAN FOR REHABILITATION SINDHIS EXCHANGE PROPERTIES SERVICES EQUALLY ESSENTIAL.

1 Choithram Gidwani: Congress leader of Sind; President, Sind PCC before Independence

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Qasr-i-Sultani
Bhopal
21 September 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I have sent personal telegrams to the Khan of Mamdot and to Sardar Shaukat Hyat for the relief from Jullundur (Basti Sheikh) of some ladies who are very close relatives of my Chief Justice, Hon'ble Mr. Salamuddin Khan, who has served this State most loyally for over 30 years and is at present in Bhopal. He himself and all his family are in great anxiety and distress, and I am most anxious to do all I can to help and to give relief.

My telegram to Mamdot, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, will explain to you the exact position. I have written to you because I know you will be prepared to do all you can to help. Owing to dislocation of all communications, it is possible that my telegram may never reach Lahore, or reach there too late. I therefore felt that if I appealed to you, you would very kindly respond at once and would do the needful from your end.

I am sorry to trouble you, but knowing you as I do I am sure you will be equally moved by the distress and anxiety of others and will generously take such action at once as may be called for, and which would meet the requirements of the case as soon as possible.

I shall be most grateful to you for any help you can give at this critical juncture to these isolated and helpless ladies.

Yours sincerely,
Hamidullah[1]

[1] Succeeded his mother as ruler of Bhopal in 1920; Chancellor of Chamber of Princes during partition; delegate to RTC; tried to bring about rapprochement between Gandhi and Jinnah in 1946

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ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Bhopal
21 September 1947

1. Khan of Mamdot
   Prime Minister
   [West Punjab]
   Lahore
2. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan
   Revenue Minister
   Lahore

CLOSE LADY RELATIVES OF MY CHIEF JUSTICE SALAMUDDIN KHAN ARE STRANDED IN BASTI SHEIKH JULLUNDUR WITH NO ONE TO LOOK AFTER THEM OR TO ARRANGE TRANSPORT FOR THEIR EVACUATION. MANY OF THEIR RELATIVES IN BHOPAL ARE IN GREAT DISTRESS. I SHALL BE PERSONALLY MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD VERY KINDLY PERSONALLY LOOK INTO THEIR CASE AND MAKE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS. FULL DETAILS CAN BE OBTAINED FROM ISMAIL KHAN 9 WARIS ROAD LAHORE. KINDLY WIRE RESULT.

NAWAB BHOPAL

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 September 1947

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Jullundur

HIS HIGHNESS NAWAB OF BHOPAL HAS ASKED ME TO ENQUIRE ABOUT THE SAFETY OF CLOSE LADY RELATIVES OF HIS CHIEF JUSTICE SALAMUDDIN KHAN WHO ARE STRANDED IN BASTI SHEIKH JULLUNDUR. HE HAS SENT TELEGRAMS TO PRIME MINISTER AND REVENUE MINISTER OF WEST PUNJAB FOR ARRANGEMENTS FOR EVACUATION. WOULD BE GLAD IF YOU COULD KINDLY MAKE IMMEDIATE ENQUIRIES AND LET ME HAVE REPORTS. IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEIR EVACUATION MIGHT BE MADE IF THE LADIES PREFER IT. MEANTIME SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS MAY BE MADE FOR THEIR PROTECTION.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 September 1947

His Highness Nawab of Bhopal
Bhopal

YOUR LETTER 21 SEPTEMBER REACHED ME YESTERDAY. HAVE TELEGRAPHED TO EAST PUNJAB PRIME MINISTER ABOUT YOUR CHIEF JUSTICE'S FAMILY. BUT IN ABSENCE OF DETAILS DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO MAKE ENQUIRIES AND NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS. WOULD BE GLAD IF YOU COULD SEND FURTHER PARTICULARS IMMEDIATELY. DO YOU WISH THEM EVACUATED TO LAHORE OR TO BHOPAL?

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad/Bhopal
3 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

INFORMATION JUST RECEIVED INDICATES THAT CONDITIONS IN PATAUDI STATE ARE AGAIN DETERIORATING AND MY DAUGHTER AND FAMILY HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO DELHI AND ARE THERE WITH A SICK CHILD. I SHALL BE MOST GRATEFUL FOR AUTHENTIC NEWS AND FOR NECESSARY ACTION TO PROTECT PATAUDI. I HAVE PLACED MY DAUGHTER AND WHOLE FAMILY UNDER YOUR CARE AND HAVE NO ANXIETY BUT SHALL FEEL FURTHER GRATEFUL IF THE DAUGHTER AND CHILDREN IN DELHI COULD BE FLOWN TO BHOPAL BY SOME SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS. PERHAPS LORD MOUNTBATTEN OR SUPREME COMMANDER MAY WITH THE PERMISSION OF UNION GOVERNMENT BE ABLE SPARE THEIR PLANES FOR FLIGHT TO BHOPAL. WILL PAY EXPENSE OF FLIGHT IF NECESSARY. MY DAUGHTER'S WHEREABOUTS IN DELHI ARE I BELIEVE KNOWN AT THE HOUSE OF SUPREME COMMANDER IN DELHI. KIND REGARDS.

HAMIDULLAH

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 October 1947

His Highness Nawab Sahib of Bhopal
Ahmedabad/Bhopal

YOUR TELEGRAM REGARDING PATAUDI. YOUR DAUGHTER AND HER CHILDREN WERE BROUGHT TO DELHI BY BRIGADIER SHERALI OWING MAINLY TO CHILD'S ILLNESS. SHE HAS BEEN SUFFERING FROM FEVER FOR LAST TWO MONTHS WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DIAGNOSED. SHE IS BEING EXAMINED BY DOCTORS AND WILL BE X-RAYED AND AS SOON AS SHE IS IN A POSITION TO LEAVE I SHALL ARRANGE FOR AEROPLANE FOR BHOPAL. THIS MORNING I GOT IN TOUCH WITH YOUR DAUGHTER AND BRIGADIER SHERALI PATAUDI'S BROTHER. IN PATAUDI THERE IS TENSION BUT NO OTHER TROUBLE. AFTER BRIGADIER SHERALI RETURNS FROM BHOPAL WHERE HE INTENDS ACCOMPANYING YOUR DAUGHTER AND CHILDREN I PROPOSE GOING TO PATAUDI MYSELF. YOU NEED HAVE NO ANXIETY. KIND REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad/Bhopal
5 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

I CANNOT TELL YOU HOW DEEPLY TOUCHED AND GRATEFUL I AM TO YOU FOR YOUR INTEREST AND ALL THE TROUBLE YOU HAVE KINDLY TAKEN ABOUT MY DAUGHTER AND PATAUDI. I SHALL ALWAYS REMEMBER WITH GRATITUDE YOUR COURTESY AND YOUR PERSONAL CONSIDERATION IN THIS MATTER. KIND REGARDS.

HAMIDULLAH

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TELEGRAM

Jullundur City
6 October 1947

Deputy Prime Minister
India
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM OF 27 SEPTEMBER REGARDING SAFETY OF LADY RELATIVES OF CHIEF JUSTICE SALAMUDDIN KHAN OF BHOPAL STATE. ENQUIRIES MADE SHOW THAT SALAMUDDIN KHAN'S RELATIONS LEFT BASTI SHEIKH LONG AGO. THEY WENT TO PAKISTAN AND ARE NOT IN REFUGEE CAMP JULLUNDUR CANTONMENT.

PRIME MINISTER
EAST PUNJAB

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
7 October 1947

His Highness Nawab of Bhopal
Bhopal

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM JULLUNDUR THAT MR. SALAMUDDIN'S FAMILY LEFT JULLUNDUR FOR PAKISTAN SOME TIME AGO AND THEY ARE NOT IN REFUGEE CAMP JULLUNDUR CANTONMENT. YOUR DAUGHTER LEAVING BY PLANE TOMORROW MORNING SEVEN. PLANE WILL HALT FOR THE DAY AND RETURN NEXT MORNING WITH YOUR DAUGHTER AND BRIGADIER SHERALI.

VALLABHBHAI

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Bhopal
8 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

My daughter and her children escorted by Brig. Sher Ali arrived here safely and I hasten to write you a line to thank you from the bottom of my heart for all you have done to help them and to get them an aircraft. Sajida Sultan [Begum of Pataudi] is returning to Delhi tomorrow morning en route to Pataudi to be by the side of her husband and I am very glad that she is doing so. Her place is in Pataudi with the people there.

I am so glad to learn that you are yourself going to Pataudi. Your visit there at this juncture will be of great value to those who are in distress and constant fear. It will put courage into their hearts and restore confidence. I leave the rest under your care and in your hands.

There is a very small personal matter in regard to which I am seeking your assistance. I have engaged a pilot, an ex-RAF officer, for my personal aircraft. He has done all the necessary examinations, etc., for a civil aviation licence but his papers are lying with the department concerned and I cannot use him unless he gets the licence. One word from you to the competent authority will be enough. Brig. Sher Ali will explain the position to you and I am sending him with Sher Ali to Delhi.

With thousand thanks and kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hamidullah

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
9 October 1947

His Highness Nawab Sahib of Bhopal
Bhopal

I HAVE RETURNED THIS AFTERNOON AFTER VISITING PATAUDI. SITUATION WELL IN HAND AND YOU NEED HAVE NO ANXIETY. I AM LOOKING INTO CERTAIN DEMANDS WHICH WERE MADE BY YOUR SON-IN-LAW. I NEED HARDLY SAY THEY SHALL HAVE MY BEST CONSIDERATION. THANKS YOUR LETTER. I SHALL DO MY BEST ABOUT PILOT CERTIFICATE AND CARS ABOUT WHICH SHER ALI SPOKE TO MY PRIVATE SECRETARY SHANKAR. KIND REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

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New Delhi
9 December 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am very sorry that during our talk last night I entirely forgot to thank you for having so kindly taken the trouble, in the midst of all your other preoccupations, to make arrangements for the removal of certain members of my family from Jalalabad. The personal interest which you have taken in the fate of these people has filled them with gratitude and they have asked me to convey to you their heartfelt thanks for what you are doing for them.

They have not as yet put in an appearance in Bhopal, but I presume that the necessary orders have issued. If, however, you could very kindly tell someone in the Ministry of States to let me know when to expect them I shall be very grateful, and it would enable me to make arrangements for their reception and accommodation.

Yours very sincerely,
Hamidullah

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
16 December 1947

My dear Jaikirat Singh,

A party of Bhopal ruling family's relations and of some relations of Bhopal nobility would be leaving Jalalabad, near Muzaffarnagar, under arrangements made by the Defence Ministry at the instance of the States Ministry. HH the Nawab of Bhopal wrote to HM, and the arrangements have been made on HM's own instructions. I understand there is some difficulty about the party being allowed to take with them certain articles like foodgrains, arms, etc. There is no desire on our part to give the party any privileged position which would infringe the Provincial Government's rules regarding the taking out of various categories of articles. Similarly, there is no question of their being allowed to take away any unlicensed arms, etc. But I do hope it will be possible for them to take articles of various description in authorised quantities.

I would therefore be grateful if you would kindly afford, and instruct your subordinates to afford the escort officer such facilities as may be appropriate in evacuating the party.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
Private Secretary to
Hon. Deputy Prime Minister

Jaikirat Singh, Esq., ICS
Collector & District Magistrate
Meerut

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad/Bhopal
16 December 1947

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Care Statesind
New Delhi

YOU NO DOUBT ARE AWARE OF THE NUMBER OF OUTRAGES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED ON RUNNING TRAINS ON THE GIP MAIN LINE BET-

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WEEN ITARSI AND BINA INVOLVING VICTIMS FROM ALL COMMUNITIES OF WHICH QUITE A NUMBER HAVE BEEN INDIAN AND EUROPEAN LADIES. A FULL NOTE WAS IN PREPARATION FOR YOUR INFORMATION BUT IN MEANTIME A REPORT HAS JUST REACHED ME OF A FURTHER OUTRAGE WHICH OCCURRED LAST NIGHT NEAR BHILSA WHEN ACCORDING TO MY POLICE REPORT TWO SIKH LADIES CHANDRANI AND HER DAUGHTER SATWANT KAUR TRAVELLING TO DELHI TO STAY AT BIRLA HOUSE WITH MAHATMA GANDHI WERE ATTACKED BY UNKNOWN GANGSTERS. DAUGHTER WAS THROWN OUT OF TRAIN AND IS SUSPECTED TO HAVE SUSTAINED A FRACTURED LEG. CHANDRANI HAS SUSTAINED SUPERFICIAL INJURIES. BOTH LADIES ARE RECEIVING . . . CARE AND ATTENTION IN THE LADIES HOSPITAL AT BHOPAL. THOUGH BHOPAL STATE HAS SO FAR NO RESPONSIBILITY OR JURISDICTION ON RAILWAY LINE OR ON RUNNING TRAIN INCREASING GRAVITY OF SITUATION IMPELS ME TO BRING THIS MATTER TO YOUR IMMEDIATE NOTICE. PLEASE IF NECESSARY INFORM MAHATMAJI AND SAY THAT THE TWO LADIES ARE UNDER EXPERT MEDICAL CARE AND WILL BE LOOKED AFTER. KIND REGARDS.

HAMIDULLAH

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad/Bhopal
17 December 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

CONTINUATION MY TELEGRAM 16 DECEMBER OUTRAGE NEAR BHILSA. REGRET MISTAKE IN NAME OF INJURED LADY. FURTHER REPORTS AFTER X-RAY EXAMINATION SHOW THAT CHANDRANI BROKE ONLY THUMB BONE AND NOT REPEAT NOT HER LEG. NEITHER LADY'S INJURIES AT ALL SERIOUS BUT WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED OF THEIR CONDITION. LADIES REPORT THAT ATTACK TOOK PLACE NORTH OF BHILSA AND NOT ON PORTION OF LINE PASSING THROUGH BHOPAL STATE. BOTH MOTHER DAUGHTER PROGRESSING SATISFACTORILY IN HOSPITAL. CHANDRANI'S FATHER AT AMRITSAR AND SEWAGRAM PEOPLE WARDHA DULY INFORMED OF ACCIDENT. ALLEGED ASSAILANTS REPORTED CAUGHT.

HAMIDULLAH

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
20 December 1947

His Highness Nawab of Bhopal
Ahmedabad

MANY THANKS YOUR TWO TELEGRAMS ABOUT THE TWO LADIES AND MOST GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR LOOKING AFTER THEM SO WELL. GANDHIJI HAS SENT A MAN TO SEE THEM.

VALLABHBHAI

378

New Delhi
6 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

Please see the attached telegram which I have received from the manager of the Tribune which is now in Simla.

The matter concerns you, though, of course, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would be interested in affording all reasonable facilities to the Tribune to resume its publication. If you agree, I will suggest to the editor of the Tribune to come to Delhi and see you whenever it is convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

Simla
5 November 1947

Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

TRIBUNE LAHORE HAS LOST PROPERTY CASH MACHINERY AND NEWSPRINT ETC WORTH RUPEES TWENTYFIVE LAKHS. NEWSPRINT WORTH TWO LAKHS HAS BEEN REMOVED UNDER ORDERS WEST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT PRINTING PRESS LAHORE. OUR VAN AND SIX TYPEWRITERS HAVE ALSO BEEN GIVEN OVER TO PAKISTAN TIMES. NOW OUR PRESS AND OFFICE HAS BEEN SEALED BY GOVERNMENT. I LEARN THAT OUR PRESS AND BUILDING IS BEING GIVEN OVER TO PAKISTAN TIMES. IT IS BUT FAIR THAT EITHER LATIFI PRESS OR ARMY PRESS AT DELHI BE REQUISITIONED FOR TRIBUNE SO THAT WE MAY BE ABLE TO BRING OUT PAPER FROM JULLUNDUR OR DELHI OR FROM SOME OTHER PLACE IN EAST PUNJAB. I SHALL FEEL OBLIGED IF YOU COULD ALLOW ME AN INTERVIEW WITH YOU FOR FEW MINUTES IN THIS CONNECTION. SONDHI MANAGER TRIBUNE.

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New Delhi
8 December 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I enclose copy of a letter which I have received from the Prime Minister, and shall be obliged if you kindly let me have your opinion on this proposal for my personal guidance.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
3 December 1947

My dear Neogy,

Your office has to deal with large numbers of refugees and I have often suggested to you that you should have a competent staff just to interview refugees and give them some mental relief, if nothing more. Most of your refugees are naturally Hindu or Sikh but in Delhi specially and partly from the neighbouring districts, many Muslims also go to your office. I think it would be highly desirable if you engaged some Muslims in your office temporarily, at least to deal with these Muslim evacuees, who would be able to approach them in a more friendly way than a non-Muslim.

This suggestion has been made to me by Maulana Azad and I entirely agree with it. I suggest that in appointing some such officers, you might consult Maulana Azad who would probably be able to suggest a suitable name.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy

380

New Delhi
9 December 1947

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter dated 8 December 1947.

I do not think we can accept the principle that persons belonging to one community should be appointed to deal with members of that community nor would it be desirable to concede that a non-Muslim Government servant is less friendly disposed to a Muslim evacuee.

Apart from these objections in principle, I do not think you have any large number of Muslim evacuees to deal with. The Muslim evacuees have either shifted to Pakistan or to a camp. I believe that the latter are already being looked after by Muslim personnel.

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If you agree to accept the communal principle, you will have to accept the claim of Sikhs also.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
New Delhi

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New Delhi
17 September 1947

My dear Maulana Sahib,

Some non-Muslim students from the West Punjab and the Frontier have seen me and represented to me that, owing to the disturbances, their parents and guardians have not been able to send them any funds and they are stranded here for lack of funds. I understand that the question of relief to such students is already under the consideration of the Ministry of Education. I should be glad to know if any decision on this matter has been reached, and if not, I would be grateful if a decision could be expedited.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
New Delhi

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New Delhi
18 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have asked my department to collect statistics of refugee students who are in need of financial help. As soon as this is done, arrangements will be made to see that no refugee student is stranded for lack of funds.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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CHAPTER X

FATE OF MINORITIES

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Mussoorie
24 May 1947

Dear Sir John Colville,

I find that the daily telegraphic reports which we receive from the Governors are inadequate and sketchy. In these disturbed days, it seems to me necessary that, from wherever there are disturbances on a large scale, we should get detailed daily reports from the provincial Governors. They can be sent by air to Delhi, and I am sure a delay of a day or two will not make them lose their importance in any way. If you agree with this suggestion, I would request you to circulate instructions to the Governors as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir John Colville

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
29 May 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 24 May about Governors' reports which I shall show to Lord Mountbatten.

2. Meantime I should explain that the Viceroy only receives telegraphic reports from Governors if there is trouble in their provinces. These reports are made as full as possible on the information available and copies are supplied to Hon'ble Members. When there are widespread disturbances in a province, as in the NWFP and the Punjab, no daily report can be really detailed, since the men on the spot, who are actually dealing

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with the disturbances, have little time to report fully. A district magistrate with trouble in his district usually deals with it before reporting about it, and when he does report, it is usually by telegram.

3. A Governor's day-to-day information therefore can consist only of what is reported to him by telegram and telephone, and is not detailed. Detailed reports, therefore, though they would be extremely valuable, are, I am afraid in the nature of things, impossible to get quickly, and speed is essential. The provincial Government's fortnightly confidential reports usually give a considerable amount of detail, and these, with the information received by the Intelligence Bureau and the situation reports which come into GHQ, are, I think, the earliest full reports we can hope to get.

4. I appreciate your point however and would like to meet it so far as is possible. I am therefore proposing to write to all Governors to ask that in reporting incidents in the provinces, they should make a point of giving as much information as possible.

Yours sincerely,
John Colville

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

385

New Delhi
31 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing a copy of an extract from the Daily Report of the Central Intelligence Officer, Bengal, dated 22 May 1947. It appears that the general impression that the League is preparing itself to resist the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, even by resort to violent means, has a great deal more basis than one would be inclined to credit.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM DAILY REPORT DATED 22 MAY 1947 OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, BENGAL

The general opinion among Muslims, however, seems somewhat different. On 18 May 1947 I. A. Mohajer, Salar-e-Suba of the Bengal Muslim National Guards, while addressing a large number of Muslim National Guards at Krishnagar (Nadia) is reported to have said that the Muslims of Bengal would not allow an inch of land to be taken out of Pakistan-Bengal. He concluded that if 17 Muslims could conquer this province, several crores of them could certainly retain it. The Muslim League paper Morning News of 22-5-47 draws attention to Mohajer's speech.

According to a secret report dated 18-5-47 emanating from the Eastern Command Intelligence Centre, Maulana Akram Khan claims that Mr. Jinnah agreed that "partition would be resisted at all costs" and that Mr. Jinnah had gone over the plans for the Muslims' struggle in Calcutta and Bengal and had approved of it. This agency further claims that another Muslim Leaguer had said that the League had been perfectly prepared for a violent struggle and that arms of every description had been kept ready and that the League leaders had been doing their best to keep the Muslims quiet until after 2 June 1947 when on a call coming from Mr. Jinnah a big war would start. The League leaders also hoped that if a holy war came the Muslim troops in the Indian Army would answer it. Today's (22-5-47) papers publish a statement of Mr. Jinnah that the League would fight the partition of the Punjab and Bengal.

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New Delhi
1 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am sending herewith a copy of the report which has appeared in the Dawn of the speech of my honourable colleague, the Minister of Health, at Patna.

2. I am sure you will agree with me that it is most improper and thoroughly objectionable in its attack on the provincial administration. I thought that, after the manner you proposed to tackle Nishtar about his speech condemning the Frontier

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administration, such things would not recur, but this one beats the rest and I feel that if the Provincial Government had externed or arrested him for making this sort of speech, I for one would certainly have upheld their action. If such things go on, I shall have the greatest difficulty in persuading the provincial administrations concerned to restrain their hands.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN AS REPORTED IN DAWN ON 1-6-47

"Brethren, I wish to assure you that even though I could not personally come here during those days, my heart and my full sympathies were with you as fellow Muslims.

"In the Punjab about which I can speak with intimate knowledge, a wave of horror went throughout the province and the nature and extent of the crimes that were committed against the weak minority here earned unbounded sympathy for the sufferers. There was grave danger of a sudden outburst of Muslim feelings in the Punjab, which would have taken an ugly turn, but this danger was averted only by the strict discipline maintained by the Muslim Leaguers. Even our women workers insisted on sending a special deputation to succour and console their unfortunate brethren and sisters. A deputation of Muslim women accordingly toured Bihar under the leadership of Begum Tasadduq Hussain, one of the two women members of the Punjab Assembly.

"Recently I saw a Press statement issued by the Premier of Bihar giving the number of firing carried out by the police before Sardar Nishtar and Pandit Nehru visited this province. Technically the statement may or may not be correct. For instance, the Premier would be correct in his statement even if here and there the police party fired a few rounds only to help rioters, which I am told was exactly what happened. . . ." He said there were fundamental differences between the Muslims and the Hindus. "People like Mahmud Ghazni and Aurangzeb are our national heroes but they are considered by the Hindus as their greatest enemies. Similarly, Shivaji is considered by us as our arch-enemy but is revered by them as a national hero. What we eat away is considered by them the greatest god."

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
3 June 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 1 June. It was a result of your letter that I raised the whole question of leaders making provocative speeches at our meeting this morning.

I will also speak to Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan about his speech at Patna when I next see him.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

388

New Delhi
5 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

As one of the matters on which it is necessary that we should safeguard the interests of the Hindustan portion of India in the event of partition taking place, I think the Communications Department should be asked not to issue airways licences over any portion of Hindustan without the sanction of the Cabinet. Similar action may be necessary in other matters as well, but this is a matter which I feel assumes certain priority in view of what I hear is contemplated.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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New Delhi
6 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

In continuation of the letter I sent you yesterday regarding the need for the stopping forthwith of the grant of any airline concessions linked with Hindustan routes, I write to say that I understand that after the draft proposals agreed to by both the main parties were sent to His Majesty's Government and even after you left for England with the final proposals, on 25 May 1947 a licence has been issued to Orient Airways, sponsored by Mr. Ispahani of Bengal, for an air service between Calcutta and Rangoon. I feel that measures like these should either be cancelled forthwith or should be subject to review by the new Government.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

390

New Delhi
9 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

The Government of UP have complained that the Health Member, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, visited Khurja in district Bulandshahr on 22 April 1947 without timely intimation to the Provincial Government. On the basis of this visit, certain accounts appeared in the Dawn to which the Provincial Government have taken strong exception on the ground that they gave a distorted version of what had taken place.

2. The Home Department have already issued a circular to all departments requesting them to give the earliest possible intimation to the Provincial Government and other authorities concerned of the movements of Honourable Members when they visit provinces. It appears that on this occasion this instruction was

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not complied with. Provincial Governments, quite naturally, feel that they have a right to be informed as early before the visit takes place as possible.

3. Some other Premiers have made similar complaints. They have also had occasion to find fault with the activities and utterances of some Honourable Members visiting their provinces. Some of them have even threatened to arrest Honourable Members if similar objectionable activities or utterances were repeated. The position is full of dangerous possibilities if, particularly in connection with the referendum in the Frontier and Sylhet, any similar visits with attendant objectionable consequences take place. I do hope, therefore, that you will impress upon the League Members the necessity of complying with the instructions and of refraining, during such visits, from activities and speeches likely to embarrass Provincial Governments.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
10 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 9th about the Health Member's visit to part of the United Provinces. I will take the opportunity at the next Cabinet meeting to draw the Honourable Member's attention to the points you have made.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Nagpur
16 September 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am enclosing a cutting from the Free Press Journal of the 15th instant. Perhaps this has already been brought to your notice, but I am doing it lest it has escaped you in midst of your

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stupendous tasks. Kindly mark the concluding sentence. If Mr. Jinnah has been correctly reported, he needs a straight answer from the Indian Government. Does he mean to say that he is asking his co-religionists both in India and outside to prepare for the day when "mature action" will be taken? Does it not mean that he is inciting them to hatch a plot against us?

2. Kindly excuse me for encroaching on your valuable time. I hope you are keeping fit in spite of the strain, both nervous and physical. My regards to Smt. Maniben.

Yours sincerely,
D. K. Mehta[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT

"I have received many other telegrams from the Frontier tribes and other parts of Hindustan and my advice to them is exactly the same as I have given in this telegram.

"I assure the Mussalmans that the Pakistan Government is fully alive to the grave situation and is doing its very best to protect the Mussalmans everywhere in every possible way. I, therefore, request the Mussalmans not to precipitate matters by hasty and premature action on the part of any individual Muslims or groups in any part of the sub-continent."

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New Delhi
22 September 1947

My dear Mehta,

Please refer to your letter dated 16 September 1947. We have all got so much used to Mr. Jinnah's fulminations and we are not letting the grass grow under our feet.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. D. K. Mehta
Minister of Finance
Govt. of the Central Province
Nagpur

1 Leading Congressman of CP; member of AICC and Provincial Minister

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New Delhi
23 September 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You would be interested to read the enclosed intercepted letter. You will notice that, according to the writer, preparations had already been made for large-scale disturbances in West Punjab and that distribution of arms for the purpose was taking place. Apparently, the military had also been contacted and their help enlisted. The date of the letter was 7 August 1947.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE
EXTRACT

My dear brother Mohammad Din,

Greetings. How do you do? I would have come but I am very busy. You should immediately reach Daska so that distribution may be carried out and also because your presence is very essential. Chowdhuri Qasim Ali Zaildar has made sufficient arrangements. Your help is urgently required. You should try to deliver sufficient arms. The military has been contacted and asked to help as much as they can in the area. We will do nothing for one or two days. The delay lies on your part and the rest is all right. A message was sent by hand of brother Ghulam Din which must have reached you. I think that you must have made good arrangements in your area. Immediately on the 17th this thing must be put into action, because in Lahore, Sialkot, Narowal, Lyallpur, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Montgomery arrangements on a vast scale have been completed. You should at once go to your area. The Muslim League leaders have also made their appeal for peace but you should as usual continue your work unless and until you get a special message. The rest is all okay. Greetings and salutation to all.

Your brother,
Mohammad Hussain

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Government House
New Delhi
24 September 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 23 September covering two intercepts which I am sorry to see are of the same subversive nature as others you have shown me.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

396

New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Banerjee has drawn my attention to Iengar's letter to Randhawa [Deputy Commissioner of Delhi] dated 20 September 1947, in which he asked him for certain information regarding houses and shops vacated by Muslims.

It appears that we were already seized of the matter and that at our instance Randhawa has had to withdraw orders which we had originally issued. If, therefore, Iengar had referred to Banerjee, as would have been consistent with departmental responsibility, it would have saved unnecessary correspondence. It seems that in matters connected with the subjects allotted to a department, the best course would be to refer to the department itself before approaching either a local administration or a Provincial Government. This would serve a triple purpose, i.e. ensure departmental responsibility, utilise information already available with the department and keep the department in the picture.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
27 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of the 25th about Iengar's letter to Randhawa asking for some information. You are perfectly right in saying that it is better for such requests to be made to the Ministry. Normally they are so made. I suppose it was to save unnecessary trouble that the direct request was made to the Deputy Commissioner.

I suggest that certain information be collected, if it has not already been collected, regarding the recent disturbances in Delhi. The more data we have the easier it is to deal with the situation. This data will probably be incomplete, but still it may help us.

The data required might be as follows:

i. number of casualties:
   a. deaths of non-Muslims by mob or individual action,
   b. deaths of Muslims by mob or individual action,
   c. deaths of non-Muslims by military or police action,
   d. deaths of Muslims by military or police action;
ii. total number of dead bodies disposed of by various authorities;
iii. number of houses destroyed:
   a. Muslim,
   b. non-Muslim;
iv. approximate estimate of damage to property;
v. number of people who have evacuated from Delhi:
   a. Muslim,
   b. non-Muslim;
vi. number of non-Muslim refugees in Delhi;
vii. number of Muslim refugees in Delhi, other than evacuees from the city;

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viii. number of shops or houses looted in Delhi and New Delhi:
   a. Muslim,
   b. non-Muslim;

ix. number of mosques and temples destroyed or partly destroyed in Delhi.

These are some heads under which data could be collected.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

398

30 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

For the last four days I have been going into the city, addressing meetings, meeting groups of people, etc. The impression I have got is that while there is an apparent improvement and incidents are few, this improvement is only on the surface. It is a lull and preparations are going on for a fresh and organised attack. The few remaining Muslim shops or occupied houses in the city are rather a pretext for an attack on Government. Reports come to me from various sources to the effect that these preparations are proceeding. I hope the Intelligence Service is inquiring into this matter and that we shall not be caught unawares again. These reports have come to me entirely from Hindu sources, shopkeepers, etc. Many of these persons are themselves alarmed by the developments that are taking place.

The atmosphere of Delhi is being poisoned by the numerous news sheets that continue to circulate. You must have seen all articles which appeared in the Hindu Outlook some time ago. There are other more or less similar articles appearing. I think strong and swift action should be taken against these papers.

I am convinced also that the impositions of heavy punitive fines on various mohallas of Delhi is necessary. Even the mention of this has produced a good effect.

Information has reached me that in the Sikh States, notably Faridkot and Nabha, Hindus are being deliberately attacked and pushed out, more especially everyone who has been connected with

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Praja Mandal activities. Indeed, Hindus are beginning to leave these States.

There appears to be some kind of contact between subversive elements in Delhi with the rulers of some of the Sikh States as well as with Alwar and Bharatpur.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

399

New Delhi
6 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am writing to you about Delhi. Conditions here are certainly better but they are still far from normal. There is tension in many areas and all manner of rumours about future undesirable occurrences are afloat. Apart from this, there are so many acute problems in the country that difficulties may arise in other parts. If so, Delhi will be affected by them.

2. We have thus to be very careful about Delhi and not relax our vigilance.

3. I hope the Emergency Committee will continue in some form or other. Possibly the Emergency Committee is somewhat unwieldy; a smaller committee may be more effective. However, that is a small matter. I am anxious that some emergency organization should continue, not only the committee but the central control arrangements that had been made. These arrangements have been much appreciated and if they are wound up, there will be great disappointment.

4. An important matter to which a reference has previously been made is the proper functioning of our intelligence services in regard to Delhi. We have been let down in the past in this respect. If we are kept properly informed and take preventive action in time, our difficulties will be infinitely less. I am glad to know that something is being done in this respect.

5. Preventive action means not only the removal of trouble-makers but also the control of the irresponsible Press. There are plenty of people in Delhi today who are bent on mischief and there are many newspapers, recently started, which are carrying on an astonishing campaign not only against Government but against all decency.

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6. From all accounts attempts are being made to carry trouble to the United Provinces and elsewhere. The people who started this show in Delhi have spread out to other places though some remain here still.

7. Delhi is an important charge. It is worthwhile considering whether in view of the importance and delicacy of this charge responsibility should not be divided, that is to say, instead of one district magistrate, there might be three or four with Delhi and New Delhi divided in these areas. Each district magistrate would of course have his normal complement of staff, civilian police, etc.

8. The military should also continue to keep in touch with the civil authorities. Each district magistrate having a military liaison officer would be under the control of the Area Commandant.

9. The position of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi has been very peculiar. He has hardly functioned with any authority during the past few weeks. This seems to be bad from the point of view of work and discipline. It must demoralise the services somewhat. If the present Chief Commissioner is not considered wholly suited to the job, perhaps some other man might be appointed in his place. The point is that the Chief Commissioner should function and should not be there for show only.

10. The policy to be followed by the newly-appointed Custodian of Evacuee Property has also to be clearly laid down as there appear to be varying opinions. The ordinance was clear enough, I thought, and yet it has been interpreted in many ways. It is common knowledge that empty houses are being occupied not only by the refugees but by others who do so with the intention of profiteering. Indeed Punjab refugees have come to me to complain that these empty houses have been occupied by others who charge heavy rent for them and ask for big premia. One Punjabi Hindu woman came to me today bringing a case to my notice of this kind where a Delhi resident had occupied several houses and shops and was charging heavy premia apart from rent. She herself had offered Rs. 100 a month and Rs. 2,000 as premium, but he wanted more. This profiteering at the expense both of the original owner of the house and the Punjab refugee is scandalous and I hope that effective steps will be taken to put an end to it. Indeed something should be done to stop this unauthorised occupation and to punish those who have been trying to profiteer.

11. Another question of policy arises about Muslim refugees in the city. I imagine that of the 1,20,000 persons in the Purana Qila

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and Humayun Tomb, about half will go away to Pakistan. Where are the other half to go? According to our policy they will return to Delhi. To what parts of Delhi? Some parts of Delhi which the Muslims did not evacuate, like Ballimaran, Faiz Bazar, etc., are already full and there is not much room for additional people. Where else then are they to go to except to certain areas from which they were evacuated? These areas thus cannot be considered as reserved completely for non-Muslims. This matter will have to be carefully thought out so that wherever Muslims may live they should be in some kind of close proximity to each other in an area and not in isolated groups. In any event it is desirable that nothing should be permitted to be done now which comes in the way of future policy and rehabilitation of those who remain.

12. I am sending these suggestions to you so that you may consider them and if you think proper pass them on to the other authorities concerned. I am sending a copy of this letter to Neogy and H. M. Patel and asking Patel to show it to [C. H.] Bhabha.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

400

New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

In your letter of 30 September 1947 you mentioned inter alia the policy of some of the Punjab States, particularly Faridkot and Nabha, to push out Hindus. I raised this matter at the conference which we called on 6 October and it was unanimously agreed that such a policy would be suicidal for the States concerned and should be discouraged. I shall take occasion to impress this upon the Rulers concerned when I have a chance of meeting them. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala was most emphatic on this point at the conference.

2. Regarding the Hindu Outlook, there is no doubt whatsoever that it does not deserve to exist as a newspaper. We have, however, passed a pre-censorship order against the paper and hope that either its contents would improve or it will come into further trouble and will eventually have to stop publication.

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3. In your letter of 6 October you have referred to certain matters connected with the organisation of the Delhi Administration. You will have noticed that the Emergency Committee has now already ceased to function, but the Central Control Room continues to discharge its functions as before. This, to my mind, provides for the necessity of continuance of the emergency structure until we are definitely out of the wood.

4. You have already had the note from the IGP about the intelligence arrangements in Delhi. From his note you will see that the CID did function, but the reports were not followed up, probably mainly due to the ineffectiveness of the head of the police administration. I have under contemplation a reorganisation of the whole Delhi police and I expect to have in a day or two proposals for its complete overhaul. I have no doubt that after this reorganisation is carried through, which would obviously take some time, the Delhi police would be a very efficient body and breakdowns like the one we had to face lately would not occur.

5. In order to keep myself in touch with developments, I have asked for weekly reports to be made to me in regard to the situation in Delhi and the likely trends of public agitation or undercurrents so that we can take effective and preventive action as soon as possible.

6. I do not feel it is necessary to divide up Delhi in the manner you suggest. In fact, divided control is likely to lead to more confusion and chaos. What is required is to keep the District Magistrate free from ordinary routine and to confine his functions to an effective co-ordinating agency for the law and order situation in Delhi and any other matters. After all, Delhi neither in population nor in extent is as complex as places like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, where ultimately there is one final authority in whom the functions of a district magistrate vest. I am convinced that the solution does not lie in the direction of breaking up the unity of administration, but in making that unity effective by means of concentrated co-ordinating functions. After I have been able to put right the re-organisation of police, I shall look into the changes that would be necessary to achieve the objective which I have mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please refer to your letter dated 9 October 1947 in which you have communicated to me certain information and views of Dr. Zakir Husain on the present situation in Delhi.

2. Our policy regarding Muslims in Delhi has been made abundantly clear by you in so many public meetings and statements. It has not been contradicted by any responsible man. There is no doubt a difference in the approach to the problem, but that need not create any confusion in the public mind. I know that you are much worried about the situation in Delhi but in spite of all our impatience and anxiety we have to take into account certain serious difficulties inherent in the situation. So far as the general policy is concerned, we have decided that those who are willing to go may be given all facilities to leave and to the rest we must make all possible efforts to give protection in case they are prepared to return to their homes. It is difficult for anyone to guarantee complete security under present conditions, but that does not mean that we should fail in our duty to take all possible steps to create in them a sense of security.

3. It is a question whether it would be wise to create any Muslim pockets in or near Delhi. Such pockets for any large number of people which, according to your rough estimate, is about 60,000, would naturally attract the attention of people and perhaps invite hatred of the neighbouring non-Muslim areas or villages. Besides, the building up of such separate residential accommodation would take a fairly long time during which period the present problem of providing facilities for these people would remain. I doubt whether this would be a practical proposition, but this question may be examined by the department concerned.

4. I agree with you that it would be a pity to lose good artisans and craftsmen, but there is reason to believe that quite a large number of them have already left with valuable raw materials, jewellery, etc., which had been given to them by the jewellers, etc., in Delhi for preparation of ornaments etc. Apparently they thought it was a good opportunity to escape with these

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valuables and establish business elsewhere. There may be a good number of innocent people of this class left in Delhi in the camps and the best way for them would be to go to mixed localities which may be safe and not to create any separate bastis for themselves.

5. You have often expressed your dissatisfaction about the police and Dr. Zakir Husain's vague allegations about their activities add nothing further on which any action can be taken. The present strength and quality of the police force is well known and the only thing which we can do is to make the best of it. Of course there would be no hesitation in punishing anyone of them against whom there is any evidence.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

402

New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am rather worried about developments in Delhi city. During the last week there has been a widespread acquisition of Muslim houses in the city, including Chandni Chowk. The appointment of a Custodian, instead of stopping this process, has actually accelerated it because people wanted to take possession before anything definite was done. I understand that this process is being helped by the subordinate staff, including the police. This will naturally create grave complications for any future settlement of the problem.

In Mussoorie and Dehra Dun the same process was going on accompanied by looting. The UP Government took stringent measures and stopped it completely and as a consequence all looting, etc., has also stopped.

I have a feeling that there is not enough co-ordination between the district authorities and their superiors, that is to say, the Government of India's policy is not given effect to by the district authorities. I drew your attention the other day to a speech by Randhawa. Apart from the speech, his general view appears to be not at all in conformity with the policy we have laid down and he is continually saying this to people. In his meetings he is

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accompanied by others who are well known for their opposition to our present policy.

It seems to me that much of the trouble is not due to the Delhi citizens, but rather to a certain official element which is bent on carrying out a policy not in conformity with ours. Where any attempt is being made to further our policy, it succeeds, such as in Narela recently where Choudhari Sher Jung has brought about a very amicable arrangement among the people.

I suggest to you to consider that a change in officials in Delhi might be made. This would bring fresh minds to bear on these problems and there will be a greater chance of our solving them in conformity with our policy.

Very soon we are going to have the Dussehra celebrations. Round about this time also there is the Bakr Id. Every precaution should be taken to avoid any trouble then. There is no chance of the Muslims misbehaving then because they are thoroughly broken up and cowed down. There is a possibility of some further organised attacks being made upon them. I trust that this matter will be enquired into. From a number of sources, more or less independent of each other, I have learnt that the persons named below have been, and are, carrying on a very mischievous propaganda in Delhi city. I send these names to you for such action as you may think proper. The names are:

In Kishinganj : Dr. Bhagwan Das and Lala Hariram
In Rui ki Mandi : Moolchand Vaid
In Bara Hindu Rao: Manoharlal, Municipal Commissioner
In Faiz Bazar : Master Jubla

There is one other matter to which I drew your attention in my last letter. There are a number of people in Purana Qila or Humayun's Tomb camps who are residents of those mohallas in Delhi city where Muslims still dwell. They have every desire to go back, but they have been kept back because of quarantine. The sooner these people are allowed to go back to these mohallas the better. There is no question of security involved, as they go back to the mohallas inhabited by Muslims still. This will relieve tension in Purana Qila and help in solving the problem.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
30 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 30 November. I hasten to reply to you in regard to the incident of the house in Bazar Sitaram of which I spoke to you. When I heard the complaint, I passed it on to the Inspector-General of Police and left it at that. He took some action after inquiry. I had made no further inquiry into the matter. I did not want any steps to be taken in the nature of punishment merely because I drew attention to this matter. It is possible that I had had only one side of the story. Whatever is done should be on the basis of facts found out after due inquiry. I mention this specially as the police officer in question came to me today and complained that a wrong version had been told me. I said to him that I had referred the matter to the Inspector-General and I had no doubt that he would deal with it after full inquiry and properly. I had no time to enter into the details of the matter and I did not want anyone penalised unjustly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

404

New Delhi
3 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

With reference to the correspondence resting with your letter of 30 November 1947 regarding the incident of the house in Bazar Sitaram, I enclose a copy of the report which I have received from the DIG Police as regards that particular case. This shows how difficult it is to proceed merely on the basis of one-sided information received from howsoever an unimpeachable source. Both sides seem to be at fault. An element of

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profiteering also appears to exist. However, the only action we could take was to discharge Mr. Kirpal Singh from the Special Police Force, and that has been done. There is no doubt, however, that he did not use his official position in any respect whatsoever. From your letter, I thought that he had done so, and that is why I said I would strongly deal with him. He does not belong to the ordinary police force.

I have already impressed on the DIG once again the necessity of ensuring complete impartiality of the police force. He is calling a meeting of all the police upper subordinates and is explaining my instructions to all of them. I hope to take an early opportunity myself to address the policemen in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

CASE: MR. KIRPAL SINGH, SPECIAL POLICE OFFICER, VERSUS MR. T. N. HAKSAR

I enquired into this case on the morning of 1 December 1947 and the following are the facts of the case:

About six weeks ago Mr. Kirpal Singh, a refugee from Punjab, approached Mr. T. N. Haksar and asked him if Mr. Haksar would agree to rent out a portion of his house to Mr. Kirpal Singh. Mr. Haksar agreed to this and asked for a sum of Rs. 50 as the first month's rent which was paid by Kirpal Singh. After a few days Kirpal Singh made enquiries and found that the rent of the flat in question came to about Rs. 15 p.m. and not Rs. 50. He therefore told Mr. Haksar that he was not prepared to pay more than Rs. 15 p.m. Mr. Haksar did not agree to this and asked Kirpal Singh to vacate the house, as in any case, he required the accommodation for his relatives who were coming in large numbers from Srinagar. This resulted in relations becoming strained between Mr. Haksar and Mr. Kirpal Singh.

On 22-11-1947 Mrs. Kirpal Singh was inside her quarter when Mrs. Haksar entered the quarter and asked her to close the water tap as water was leaking through the floor down to another room where some other tenants were staying. An altercation ensued between the parties and both came to blows. Mrs. Kirpal Singh was slightly injured on the right ear with the broken bangle of Mrs. Haksar. Pieces of bangle were found inside the room of Mrs. Kirpal Singh and Mrs. Haksar admitted them to be her property

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saying that Mrs. Kirpal Singh had dragged her by the hand resulting in the breaking of her bangle.

Mr. Kirpal Singh arrived home late in the evening and was told of the incident by his wife. He immediately proceeded to police station Faiz Bazar and lodged a report there against Mr. and Mrs. Haksar and their relations alleging criminal trespass into his quarter and theft of a charpoy. A case under sections 380/451 IPC was therefore registered and ASI Sis Ram took up the investigation. The case was subsequently investigated by SI Hans Raj, SHO Faiz Bazar police station and the Deputy Supdt. of Police, City.

It is a fact that Mr. Kirpal Singh has a very excitable nature and is matched in this respect by Mrs. Haksar. As a result of an altercation between these two, Mrs. Haksar had abused Mr. Kirpal Singh in the presence of Mir Mushtaq Ahmad and ASI Sis Ram and the abuse was returned by Kirpal Singh, who also threatened to shoot the family with his revolver.

After a great deal of discussion the parties agreed to compromise the affair. Mr. Haksar expressed his regret at the annoyance and slight injury caused to Mrs. Kirpal Singh and Mr. Kirpal Singh apologised for his rude and threatening behaviour. It was decided that Mr. Kirpal Singh would vacate the house by the 5th of December 1947. The police case is being cancelled and necessary steps will be taken to remove Mr. Kirpal Singh from the Special Police Force.

D. W. Mehra,
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Delhi Province

3-12-1947

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TELEGRAM

Baghdaduljadid
22 December 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

HAVING BEEN A FAITHFUL SUBORDINATE WITH YOUR LATE DISTINGUISHED BROTHER VITHALBHAI PATEL AS HIS FIRST WATCH AND WARD OFFICER IN THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY I DO REQUEST YOU KINDLY TAKE ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES PROTECT THE SANCTITY OF DARGAH SHARIF AJMER. I ONE [of] THE MILLIONS DEVOTEES OF HAZRAT KHWAJA SAHIB WOULD BE HIGHLY GRATEFUL. WILL SEE YOU WHEN TIME PERMITS.

NURHUSSAIN SHAH
COMMISSIONER POLICE

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
29 December 1947

To
Nurhussain Shah
Commissioner of Police
Baghdaduljadid

YOUR TELEGRAM. DARGAH SHARIF AJMER SAFE. YOU NEED HAVE NO ANXIETY. WE SHALL TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO ENSURE ITS SAFETY AND SANCTITY.

VALLABHBHAI

407

New Delhi
23 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a letter received from Pyarelal[1] on behalf of Bapu. I met Bapu also this morning and he suggested that an early meeting might be arranged as has been proposed. I told him that I was perfectly agreeable to this and would refer the matter to you so that you could suit your convenience. Could you kindly fix some time for this and inform Bapu and me? Bapu would then send word to Maulana Saheed and others.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

1 Secretary to Gandhi; author of several books on Gandhi's life and works

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ENCLOSURE

Birla House
New Delhi
22 December 1947

Dear Panditji,

Maulana Saheed and some other Maulanas of Delhi came to Bapu yesterday and told him that recent happenings in Delhi had well-nigh driven the local Muslims to desperation. They wanted to be told definitely and authoritatively as to whether the Government really wanted to keep them in the Indian Union or would prefer their going away. In the former case the Government's declaration of policy would need to be followed by suitable action. They suggested a joint meeting with you, the Sardar and the Maulana Sahib in Bapu's presence. Bapu has asked me to convey to you that he would be available for the purpose at any time that may suit you.

Yours sincerely,
Pyarelal

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

408

New Delhi
23 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 23 December 1947.

I suggest you fix some time at your convenience, and I shall suit my programme accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
25 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have had a telegram from Mr. M. S. Aney[1] in which he has stated that he is agreeable [to accept the post of Governor of Bihar]. I shall now write to the Governor-General so that necessary steps might be taken.

I saw Bapu this evening and he suggested that you and I might see him together. I think this will be a good thing. 7 o'clock tomorrow the 26th evening has been suggested for our meeting at Bapu's place. I hope this suits you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

410

New Delhi
26 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have just received your letter of yesterday. I am glad the Bihar appointment is settled.

Regarding this evening's appointment at Bapu's place, I suggest 7.30 instead of 7, as it would suit me better. I hope this will not put you to any inconvenience.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'able Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

[1] President, Berar PCC, 1921-30; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1941-43; resigned over Gandhi's fast and Government's refusal to release him; India's representative in Ceylon, 1943-47; member, CA, 1947-48; Governor of Bihar, 1948-52; Lok Sabha member, 1959-66

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19 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
4 July 1947

My dear Sardarji,

You are so frightfully busy with matters of the highest importance that we, your soldiers, can hardly find the heart to trouble you or to take your time; but several points strike us and worry us relating to matters which are now on the anvil. We feel oppressed and anxious about them, and yet the consolation is ours that things are in your strong and capable hands and that therefore nothing but the very best will result therefrom.

I have been worried over the report in the newspapers that the personnel of the services are receiving enquiries as to whether they would prefer to remain in Pakistan or in India. Is it contemplated that Muslim officers, (and who does not know the part they have been playing during these several months in the secretariat and other offices?) will be allowed to remain with us if they choose to do so? It is a terrible price we have paid for getting rid of this curse of divided loyalties and fifth columnism! Have we still to carry this load round our neck? It may sound a little harsh, but the only right and safe course will be that we should ask them without reservation or exception to move on to their own area.

I have no doubt that the point will be in your mind already and that you will be tackling it in your own inimitable way. I am writing this more to relieve the distress of my mind than because I think it is necessary to trouble you about it.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Govind Malaviya[1]

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Youngest son of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; member, Central Legislative Assembly

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New Delhi
7 July 1947

My dear Govind,

I have received your letter of the 4th instant.

The point that you have raised in your letter about those who have in the past worked for, or had sympathy for, Pakistan choosing to stay in India for future service has not escaped our attention. Such people will be given no option. I have noticed in my experience during the last 10 months that the Muslim personnel of the services are thoroughly disloyal to Government, and it was impossible to run any administration efficiently or even tolerably fairly. Their full energy was concentrated in disruptive activities inside the organisation. There was no discipline, and they were not afraid of doing anything contrary to rules. We have therefore taken care to see that all such elements in the services go over to Pakistan.

After 15 August, the service rules and regulations will be strictly enforced and no disloyalty will be tolerated. The oath of loyalty to the Indian Government will first be administered to all, and anyone found to have any other sympathy or loyalty with any outside agency or organisation will have to leave service. You may therefore rest assured that proper action will be taken to see that all such people are weeded out from here.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Govind Malaviya
19 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi

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New Delhi
20 August 1947

My dear Syama Prasad,

Please see the enclosed anonymous application. If the facts stated are correct and Dr. Karim has been retained in the Council, it is contrary to the instructions of the Partition Council. Once a final option has been exercised, it cannot be withdrawn. In that case, I hope you will see that the instructions are carried out.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industries and Supplies
New Delhi

414

New Delhi
21 August 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Thank you for your letter dated 20 August 1947. I am having the case of Dr. Karim looked into.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

415

New Delhi
26 August 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I have looked into the case of Dr. Karim who is working in the Council of Industrial and Scientific Research. He is a resident of Bihar and in his declaration form he gave a provisional

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option for Pakistan. After several days he decided to remain in the rest of India. I am told under the rules anybody who gave a provisional option was entitled to change within six months. Mr. Rajagopalachari on this ground permitted him to continue. I am advised that constitutionally his return could not be stopped.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

416

New Delhi
4 October 1947

My dear Shri Morarji Desai,[1]

Sardar is very busy and he has therefore asked me to write to you regarding one or two matters which have been agitating his mind.

First is the question of the Pathan and Muslim employees of the Bombay dockyard. He feels that if any actual trouble breaks out on that account, it would again paralyse Bombay's port activities and would have serious repercussions on its industrial enterprise. He has therefore asked me to request you to look into this question at once and take suitable action to do away with these employees. Hindu employees of the Karachi dockyard are anxious to come over to the Indian Dominion and it might therefore be possible for you to have an exchange with Karachi.

The second point is regarding Sindi watchmen who are generally kept by cultivators in Gujarat and Maharashtra to watch their crops. He thinks that this is a possible danger spot which should be cleared up as soon as possible.

He has also asked me to send you the enclosed cuttings of some Gujarati papers. He feels that Muslim papers of this type have got no place in India. If they cannot behave loyally, they

1 PCS, Bombay; resigned in 1930 to join civil disobedience movement; Minister, Bombay Government, 1937-39; Home Minister, 1946-52; Chief Minister, 1952-56; thereafter Central Minister of Commerce and Industry and later Finance; resigned under Kamaraj Plan, 1963; Deputy Prime Minister in Mrs. Gandhi's Cabinet, 1967-69

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must clear out. He has asked me to request you to suppress such papers with a strong hand.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

The Hon'ble Shri Morarji Desai
Revenue & Home Minister
Govt. of Bombay

417

Home Department
Bombay
8 October 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have received Shankar's letter of 4 October.

I understand that about 1,500 Muslims from the HMS dockyard, Bombay, have opted for service in Pakistan and they are waiting to be moved by the naval authorities. The local officers are anxious that they should be moved quickly and have been pressing for necessary orders from naval headquarters. I would request that the question of their move may be taken up with Sardar Baldev Singh.

I also find that a large number of Muslims who have opted for service in Pakistan are being collected in Bombay, particularly by the military and railway and postal authorities, but very limited transport by sea is available. Their presence in Bombay is a potential source of great danger. I am very anxious that they should be moved out of Bombay as quickly as possible and will be thankful for all assistance that you can give. At this end I can assure you of fullest co-operation from all our officers in expediting their departure.

I am taking necessary steps about the Sindhi watchmen.

I had noticed the articles in Millat and had asked steps to be taken to demand security. We are also taking steps against other Muslim papers which write in the same strain as Millat.

In Bombay we are enforcing our conventions very strictly but our efforts are frustrated as papers coming from other provinces contain highly inflammable articles. Even the API messages which are supposed to be passed by the ad hoc committee before being transmitted frequently contain matter likely to incite communal ill-feeling, but we are not able to take action against

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them. Moreover, papers published in Delhi and Karachi in the morning are being brought by air and sold in Bombay in the evening. The Dawn invariably contains highly objectionable articles, but even papers like the Hindustan Times and the Statesman also publish objectionable reports from their own correspondents. These reports are used by papers in this province of both sides to propagate their respective points of view. Apart from this, Sindhi and Urdu papers from Sind and Hyderabad also find large circulation in Bombay and it is not possible to stop them. These problems have been referred to you officially and I shall be very thankful if you can have the question thoroughly examined. The point is whether publication of communal killings in the Punjabs can be confined to some authorised reports only and whether the test of inciting communal ill-feeling can be applied fairly strictly in all provinces. I am aware that this will not affect newspapers in Pakistan and Hyderabad. If they cannot be kept out under the Customs Acts, it seems necessary to consider whether a special act cannot be passed for the purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

418

New Delhi
16 October 1947

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter dated 8 October 1947 received yesterday. I am taking up the questions of Muslim personnel in the dockyard as well as of that collected in Bombay for transfer to Pakistan. I presume that shipping is the bottleneck in both cases, but I hope we shall get over it.

2. As regards the convention regarding news, the Bombay meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference has come to a decision on this matter, and the convention which they have settled is going to have all-India application. This will therefore meet one of the points you mentioned. As regards the other point, namely, prohibiting the entry of certain papers, we have taken special powers under the ordinance banning the import of papers published outside in the

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Chief Commissioners' provinces. I suggest that you take similar powers, so that no question would arise of your invoking our aid under the Sea Customs or other Acts.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Desai
Bombay

419

New Delhi
16 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

The Home Minister of Bombay writes to me as follows:

> "I understand that about 1,500 Muslims from the HMS dockyard, Bombay, have opted for service in Pakistan and they are waiting to be moved by the naval authorities. The local officers are anxious that they should be moved quickly and have been pressing for necessary orders from naval headquarters. I would request that the question of their move may be taken up with Sardar Baldev Singh."

I think the danger not only to Bombay city but to its port and to our trade is real if these Muslims are allowed to remain in Bombay for any appreciable length of time, and I hope it will be possible for you to put pressure on the authorities concerned to make a move in the matter as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

420

Council Hall
Poona
21 October 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter of 16 October 1947 received today. I am glad you have taken up the question of making shipping arrangements required for the transfer of Muslim personnel to Pakistan.

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I am considering the question of taking powers with a view to prohibiting entry [of] certain papers in this province.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

421

New Delhi
26 October 1947

Dear Liaquat Ali Khan,

Jamnadas Dwarkadas has given to me a note describing his visit to Lahore. Therein he has given an account of the discussion he had with you. In that account the following passage occurs:

> "Mr Liaquat Ali Khan discussed how in his opinion a mistake had been made at the instance of Sardar Patel, by both the Governments, in deciding on a policy of giving an option to all the services either to remain or opt out from their respective dominions. A lot of trouble would have been avoided if this policy had not been adopted. If the services were prepared to work under a foreign government without any compunction, why should they, who have no politics as such, have any hesitation in serving wherever they happen to be? He suggested that Sardar Patel had insisted on this policy simply because he thought as there was a dearth of efficient administrators among the Muslims he would succeed in sabotaging the very division which he had ostensibly supported."

I do not think this correctly represents what took place between you and Jamnadas, but if it does, I should like to say that it is a gross misrepresentation of what actually transpired and contains an insinuation as to my motives, which is, to say the least, most unfair and unworthy. In fact, on the question of option, there was unanimous agreement, and there was no necessity for insistence by one side or the other. It was recognised that both for the army and the civil services this would be the only way of dealing with the problem under the circumstances. You will perhaps recall that I then said in the Partition Council that the division of the army on communal lines was the surest way of laying foundations for civil war.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

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MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS IN CONNECTION WITH THE STRENGTH OF ARMY—INDIA AND PAKISTAN

	Officers			Other Ranks		
	Army	Navy	Air Force	Army	Navy	Air Force
Muslims	23.7	13.7	18	33.8	41	18.3
Hindus	47.8	38	46	55.7	37.3	57
Sikhs	16.3	5.7	11	7.5	1.7	5.1
Others	16.3	5.7	25	3.7	20	19.6
Non-Muslims	76.3	86.3	82	66.2	59	81.7

422

New Delhi
2 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Government employees were given a period of six months in which to decide finally their choice of the dominion in which they wanted to serve. Recently, I have been receiving a number of enquiries in this connection. One such enquiry I am enclosing.

Will you please let me know the decision of the Partition Committee in this matter?

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

The Secretary
Partition Department
Government of India
New Delhi

Ref: Permission to revise my decision "to serve in India."

Sir,

With due respect I beg to lay down the following facts for your kind and favourable consideration:

That I had submitted my final choice to serve in Pakistan but I beg to say that I was unfortunately not free to make such a decision. The persuasions of my fellow-workers and friends favoured to come to this decision at which I am rubbing my hands now.

It is too late now to unmake my decision but unfortunately I can do nothing else.

Moreover the recent misfortune of my family does not allow me to proceed to Pakistan. My old mother is lying very seriously ill and she is not in a mood to allow me to go to Pakistan as she has no hope to survive her illness.

It will be useless and self-contradicting if I claim to be a patriotic son of India which I have blundered in favour of Pakistan. Really speaking, as I have stated above, the decision was not my own but I made under compulsion. I am an Indian first and an Indian last. I want to live in India and die in India. So I must serve in India.

Hence I humbly request your honour to permit me to revise my decision and allow me to serve in India.

Hoping a favourable reply,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Safdar Ali Khan
Guard, Moradabad

Sept. 1947

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New Delhi
6 December 1947

My dear Maulana Sahib,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 December 1947 regarding options given to Government employees to serve in either of the two dominions. The case which you have referred to me is that of final choice and not provisional choice which could be altered within a period of six months. The Partition Council decision has been that once a final choice is made it should be adhered to. I could see no prospect, therefore, of the gentleman, whose application you have sent me, being allowed to change his option now.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Minister for Education
New Delhi

424

New Delhi
14 October 1947

My dear Pantji,

We have received information that the Pakistan Government have sent, or are sending representatives to recruit army officers from among Aligarh University students. I should be glad if you would kindly order immediate enquiries into this matter and send an official report. I feel that if the report is substantiated, we could presume that the university authorities are giving facilities for such recruitment, and on that account, we shall have to reconsider our attitude to giving this university a grant.

I also feel that, if the report is correct, you should detain the representatives concerned, because this would in effect amount to suborning the loyalty of Indian nationals.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Prime Minister of United Provinces
Lucknow

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Lucknow
21 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I regret very much that I have been delayed in answering the letters I received from you during the last six or seven days. I have been slightly indisposed otherwise I would have probably seen you on the 17th or 18th. That also accounts for this delay.

I am glad to know that General Curtis[1] will be replaced by Major-General Kulwant Singh.[2] This will make the co-operation between the military and the civil authorities cordial and they will be able to work smoothly and I hope with redoubled vigour and efficiency. General Curtis was a hardened soldier and it had become rather difficult for him to readjust himself to his present environment and its growing needs and demands. Every time we stood in need of help from him we could bring him round to our point of view only after prolonged argument which called for considerable restraint and a great deal of persuasion on our part. I am certain that things will take a different turn on the arrival of Major-General Kulwant Singh. His own outlook will be in harmony with ours and we will be jointly able to overcome all obstacles and difficulties that may happen to come in our way. General Curtis himself told me that the Pakistan army personnel still in our midst here did not fall short of 10,000. He could not give me the exact figure, but I gathered from him that it would in no case be less than that number. I am relieved to learn that the matter is engaging your attention. Their presence in this province is a constant source of danger and anxiety and the sooner they leave the more secure will our people feel. Some of them are said to be also in charge of armouries, arsenals and ordnance depots. Even if their immediate removal

1 GOC, Northern Command

2 Passed out from Sandhurst, 1925; first Indian to be appointed Instructor at Staff College, Quetta, 1941; second-in-charge of 114 Brigade in Burma and Thailand; Director of Military Training, AHQ, August 1947; Maj-Gen., October 1947, when he assumed command of operations in Kashmir; Chief of General Staff, May 1948; Officiating GOC-in-C, Western Command, 1953

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to Pakistan be not feasible I hope it will be found possible to transfer all arsenals etc. to our own Indian Army.

The Nawab of Rampur has been constantly in touch with me. He has been writing to me almost every second day. Mr. Zaidi has also been seeing off and on. I have tried to comply with their wishes, although it was not always easy to do so. We have provided a number of officers for police, revenue and other departments, have instructed all districts bordering on or in the neighbourhood of Rampur to render every possible help to the State and have taken steps to prevent the influx of Muslims from outside into Rampur. The Nawab has repeatedly expressed his appreciation of the attitude of this Government. I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I received from him only recently. As you will notice, the last sentence in his letter runs as follows:

> "It gives me great pleasure to recall how you have fulfilled to the letter your promise of helping me in my difficulties whenever I approached you."

I received your letter about the recruitment of officers for the Pakistan Army from Aligarh University on the 17th. The matter had, however, attracted my attention some time earlier. The CID and the district authorities had been doing the needful. I am forwarding herewith a copy of all relevant papers from our file. The District Magistrate has sent us what purports to be a true copy of a letter received from the headquarters of Pakistan Adjutant-General's Branch to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh [See Enclosure]. There is an endorsement on this letter by the Vice-Chancellor directing captain S. M. Ali to take necessary action. Captain Ali has accordingly invited the students to see him with written applications giving full particulars. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these documents. I have, however, asked the Collector to take necessary steps to collect the original documents or to record necessary evidence, so that no room may be left for any formal objections or for tampering with or destroying authentic records. But I have already warned the university that if any steps of the nature suggested by the Pakistan authorities are taken then this Government will take effective action according to law. He has, I think, made it known to the university that the Government are taking a serious view of this matter.

In all likelihood no one from Pakistan will now visit the university in this connection. It is, however, likely that a letter

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may be addressed by the university to the Government of India seeking their advice in this matter. But the university has already carried out the instructions received from the other end. Written applications had been invited from the students under the instructions of the Vice-Chancellor and a list of students from among whom the selection was to be made was also to be prepared under his orders. I think this was in every way wrong and improper. I had expressed my views in the note that I had recorded on the file. So I need not say more. As in all likelihood no officer from Pakistan is going to visit the university for this purpose and no overt action is going to be taken by any representative of Pakistan, there will be no occasion for setting the law in motion. But Aligarh University is mainly financed and fed by the Government of India. It gets a very substantial grant from the Centre. The Governor-General is, I think, the Chancellor of the university. The university has also a training corps with an armoury. So the Government of India can, if it so chooses, take disciplinary action against the university and exercise complete control over its affairs. Various ways are open to it and it can deal with the matter in an effective manner without the least difficulty.

I am grateful to you for forwarding to me a copy of the letter sent to you by the Maharaja of Bharatpur. This is an old affair and I do not exactly remember the words that I used. But I am not prepared to say that the Press report attached to his letter, so far as it affects Bharatpur, is not substantially correct. What I said was called for and perfectly justified. I do not know if you are aware of the propaganda that had been actively carried on in and around Bharatpur about the establishment of an independent Jat State. It had created uneasiness and a certain amount of panic in Mathura. Besides the Meos, a goodly number of non-Jat Hindus had also migrated from Bharatpur. The Maharaja was, I believe, actively associated with this propaganda. Bharatpur had begun to entertain fantastic dreams at that time. I was told that a new army was being actually raised for the conquest of Mathura and certain other parts. You will be interested to see an appeal by one of his men which I am enclosing herewith. I had no doubt about the truth of the reports that had reached me. All this was having a very demoralising effect. It was necessary to scotch it. What I said had a salutary and heartening effect. Only once did I mention Bharatpur as I did not think that it was worthy of greater attention. That was enough for restoring confidence which had been shaken in those parts.

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I think I have dealt with all outstanding matters. If there is still anything left over I shall include it in my next letter. On the whole the situation seems to be easier. There have been no serious incidents during the last week or two. Dussehra and Id are, however, fast approaching. If these festivals are celebrated in a normal way without any breach of the peace I hope there will be no recrudescence of deterioration thereafter.

I enclose herewith two telegrams exchanged between me and the Refugee Minister of Pakistan. You may be interested in particular in seeing the telegram that I sent him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

COPY OF LETTER DATED 12 SEPTEMBER 1947, FROM ARMY HEADQUARTERS OF PAKISTAN, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S BRANCH, SELECTION OF PERSONNEL SECTION, RAWALPINDI, TO THE PRO-VICE-CHANCELLOR, ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

Subject: Regular Commissions in the Pakistan Army First Military Academy.

1. The number of Muslim candidates who applied for the first PMA course being very small and of a low standard, it has been found necessary to approach you with a view to obtaining the right type of candidates from the Muslim University for our army. It will, therefore, be very much appreciated if you . . . suitable type of boys to come forward. To be eligible for ordinary commissions, the candidates should fulfil the following conditions:

Age: The candidate must have passed his 18th birthday but have reached his 22nd birthday on 1 January 1948.

Education: The minimum standard acceptable is Senior Cambridge with no less than two credits or Matriculation first or second division. A fairly good knowledge of English is essential. Documentary evidence of educational qualifications must be produced at all interviews.

Medical: The candidate must be medically fit in all respects.

Previous Rejections: A candidate who has been previously rejected by a Services Selection Board can apply again provided still within the age-limit.

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The period of training for the above will be . . . years PMA. To be eligible for University Commission . . . must fulfil the qualifications required. Candidates will be required to possess one of the following degrees:

Arts or Science—for services in IAC, RIA, PMA, IACC and . . .

Civil Engineering—for services in the RIE.

E & M— —do— ISE or IEME.

Agriculture—for services in the Farms Department.

Age-limits: Candidates to be eligible for a commission . . . normally be between their 20th and 23rd birthdays on the . . . they apply. Those with Civil Engineering E. & M. and Agricultural Degrees, however, will be accepted up to their 25th birthday.

Medical Standard: Candidates must be in medical category.

The period of training for above will be one year PMA.

I realise that it will be very difficult for you to send candidates to Selection Board just at present. I suggest you to send me a complete list giving their full names, age, and qualifications, both separately for Ordinary and University Commissions. Some time in the month of October and early November I will send an officer to give them all preliminary tests, and, if they are found fit, to send them to one officer . . . on Boards. The application form will be completed at the time when one of my officers visits Aligarh. A line from you will be very much appreciated.

Sd. N. Raza
Brigadier

Copy forwarded to Capt. S. M. Ali with the remark that he may kindly discuss the matter with Col. Haider Khan and take necessary action and send me a complete list of students to this office.

Sd. Mohammad Obaidur Rahman Khan
Vice-Chancellor

Those interested in the above should see me in the Geography Department with a written application giving full particulars.

Sd. S. M. Ali

1-10-47

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ENCLOSURE II

EXTRACT

APPEAL TO BHARATPUR'S VALIANT RACES

You, valiant races of Bharatpur, beware that the country is passing through a great many changes and there seems anarchy all round. During such time, thinking that the present military force is quite inadequate to protect the life and property of the people, our Maharaja has announced the raising of the new corps and the work of recruitment is already in progress. Friends, our Maharaja has taken in hand only the most needed task and for that he deserves all praise and congratulations. If there are two sons in the house, let us spare one for the army. Brave sons, times reminiscent to those of Maharaja Jawahar Sinha and Surajmalji are in sight.

Yours,
Dhruva Sinha

(Original in Hindi)

ENCLOSURE III

COPY OF TELEGRAM FROM FOREIGN, KARACHI, TO PRIME MINISTER, UNITED PROVINCES

FOLLOWING FOR PRIME MINISTER FOR NEOGY REFUGEE MINISTER INDIA FROM FAZLUR RAHMAN REFUGEE MINISTER PAKISTAN.

CONSIDERING YOUR MINISTER'S STATEMENTS AT LAHORE CONFERENCE SUNDAY 5 OCTOBER TO EFFECT THAT THOUSANDS OF MOSLEMS SHOULD BE EVACUATED FROM SAHARANPUR AND MEERUT DISTRICTS OF UNITED PROVINCES AND RECENT PRESS REPORTS REGARDING MURDERS OF MOSLEM TRAIN PASSENGERS IN NORTH OF UNITED PROVINCES WE SHOULD LIKE APPRECIATION OF SITUATION IN PROVINCE. FOLLOWING ARE TYPICAL REPORTS REACHING US. DEHRA DUN ON 14 SEPTEMBER. HINDU PROCESSION ALLOWED TO PASS MAIN STREETS CREATED TROUBLE AT MOSQUE KILLED MANY MOSLEMS LOOTED AND BURNT MOSLEM PROPERTY. STATED THOUGH SEVENTY-TWO HOUR CURFEW PROMULGATED EVEN DURING THIS PERIOD LOOT AND ARSON CONTINUED. REPORT ALLEGES THOUSAND MOSLEMS COLLECTED IN REFUGEE CAMPS LEAVING PROPERTY UNPROTECTED. JAWALAPUR ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN ATTACKED ON 14 SEPTEMBER BY THOUSANDS OF HOOLIGANS FROM HARDWAR FOUR MILES DISTANT WHERE THERE IS SAID TO BE LARGE CONCENTRATION HINDU SIKH REFUGEES. IT IS ALLEGED SEVERAL HUNDRED MOSLEMS WERE KILLED IN THIS ATTACK AND AS RESULT

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POLICE FIRING SEVERAL NEIGHBOURING MOSLEM VILLAGES BURNT. MOST MOSLEMS NOW SAID TO BE IN OPEN REFUGEE CAMP. AT RAMPUR ZANIHARAN IN SAHARANPUR DISTRICT MOB IS SAID TO HAVE ATTACKED GATHERING OF MOSLEM WOMEN AND CHILDREN WITH SOME MEN AND TO HAVE KILLED BETWEEN TWENTY AND THIRTY MOSTLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN. SURVIVING OR BALANCE SAID TO BE UNDER PROTECTION SAHARANPUR MOSLEMS. TRAIN ATTACKS SAID TO HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY BAD ON DELHI SAHARANPUR JAGADHARI RAILWAY AND LAKHSAR DEHRA DUN AND NEAR MORADABAD MAIN CENTRES OF KILLING BEING JAGADHARI, MODINAGAR, BEGAMABAD AND SAHARANPUR.

Government of the United Provinces
Lucknow 17 October 1947

Copy forwarded by special messenger to the Commissioner, Meerut Division, with the request that he will please prepare a detailed report and return it to Government as soon as possible by the same special messenger. The report should inter alia give figures of arrests made and fines imposed.

By Order
B. N. Jha
Chief Secretary

ENCLOSURE IV

TELEGRAM

Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman
Refugee Minister Pakistan
Karachi

YOUR TELEGRAM OF 17. REPORT INCORRECT. STRANGE YOU ARE UNAWARE OF NUMEROUS MEASURES AND ACTION TAKEN BY THIS GOVERNMENT FROM TIME TO TIME FOR PROTECTION OF LIFE PROPERTY NOT ONLY OF MUSLIM FELLOW CITIZENS BUT OF THOUSANDS OF MUSLIM REFUGEES WHO SOUGHT SHELTER HERE FROM VARIOUS STATES AND PROVINCES ADJOINING OUR PROVINCE. DOUBT IF ANY NON-MUSLIM FROM OUTSIDE HAS EXPECTED OR MOVED FOR PROTECTION TO ANYWHERE IN PAKISTAN. OUR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS ARE OUR EXCLUSIVE CONCERN AND OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE CAN ONLY CREATE DIFFICULTIES AND COMPLICATIONS. THERE IS MORE THAN ENOUGH DESERVING OF IMMEDIATE ATTENTION IN PAKISTAN AND IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY SUGGESTED THAT IT CAN PERHAPS HELP MUSLIMS ELSEWHERE BY CREATING CONFIDENCE IN MINORITIES THAT HAVE NOT YET LEFT PAKISTAN. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO WHOM ALONE THIS GOVERNMENT IS RESPONSIBLE ARE FULLY ACQUAINTED WITH FACTS BUT IF SO DESIRED SHALL REPORT TO THEM AGAIN.

PREMIER, UNITED PROVINCES

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New Delhi
23 October 1947

My dear Pantji,

I have just received your letter of the 21st instant giving the detailed replies [to] several questions pending and I thank you for the same.

Major-General Kulwant Singh will be coming there in about a week's time, the delay being due to General Cariappa[1] going to England on special duty. We are trying to weed out Pakistan Army personnel as quickly as possible. We have to work against odds.

I am glad you are helping Rampur as much as possible and Rampur Nawab appreciates your help. We are equally interested maintaining peace in Rampur as the large bulk of the population in Rampur is Hindus who are a timid lot and get nervous and panicky at the least disturbance of peace anywhere near about.

Regarding the Aligarh University question, the Government of India would certainly take suitable action if the Pakistan Government persist in their efforts to tamper with the loyalty of the institution. We cannot allow the university to be used as a base for recruiting candidates for their army officers. I have seen copies of correspondence sent by you and I am glad that you have taken prompt action in the matter.

Some of the Princes, particularly the smaller ones, have begun to feel that power is slipping from the Union Government's hands and they think that now is the opportunity for them to revert to pre-British days. Bharatpur is one of them and we have to handle it carefully. I am glad you have sent me the leaflet published under the signature of Dhruva Singh. I have also got a report from Shankar Prasad from Ajmer quoting chapter and verse about raids and dacoities organised and committed by gangs of Jats under the leadership of Bharatpur's brother. I am collecting facts about Bharatpur's maladministration and misconduct during these troubled times and if I get sufficient evidence I

1 GOC-in-C, Western Command, 1947; promoted General and Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army, 1949-53

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propose to set an example so that others may take heed of our action.

Your reply to Fazlur Rahman, Refugee Minister of Pakistan, is good, but I think it would have been better not to have any direct correspondence with any representative of the Pakistan Government. They should not be encouraged to have direct contact from provinces, but they should be referred to the Dominion Government.

I am glad things are under control in the UP. The Punjab troubles have put considerable strain on the border districts in your province; but thank God you have escaped the fate which overtook Delhi. We had a hard time, but we are getting the upper hand now, although there is considerable room for anxiety.

Hope you are doing well,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Lucknow

427

5 Barakhamba Road
New Delhi
3 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I have just received your letter about coal despatch to the N.W. Railway. I also received a message to the same effect and I have asked for necessary information. I entirely agree that until the question of payment is settled we should not make further supplies.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
16 November 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Mr. S. K. Patil tells me that Muslims in Bombay are selling their assets at high market prices and taking all the money to Pakistan. I understand that the Sind Government have passed an order prohibiting the sale of immovable property. I think you should have a similar legislation to control such transactions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. G. Kher
Prime Minister, Government of Bombay
Camp New Delhi

429

New Delhi
20 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

A Hindu officer who until recently was under the Sind Government has come away to India, and he gave me a copy of a confidential note which has been circulated by the Sind Premier. You will see from it how Hindu officers are being dealt with in Sind although the Sind Premier has publicly declared that no discrimination will be made.

I am sending this to you as I thought you might feel interested in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

SIND PREMIER'S NOTE DATED 30-9-47

In view of the changed conditions and also the fact that there have been several cases of leakage of confidential information by non-Muslim members of the confidential branches of the secretariat and other departments and also the non-Muslim members of the CID do not bring correct information with regard to the activities of those who are acting in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the State, I feel compelled to the necessity of placing only Muslims in confidential branches and also in the CID staff. It is of course expected that selection of Muslim staff for these branches, important as they are, will have to be made with the scrutiny as to their reliability and character.

The Chief Secretary is requested to take necessary steps as soon as possible to see that the principle laid down above is implemented soon.

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Camp New Delhi
18 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I enclose herewith copies of the letters that I sent to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Ghulam Mohammad some days ago. They speak for themselves. What I do really mean is that if the professions of fair deal to the minorities could be supplemented by definite and practical gestures of good will from either side it would have a good psychological effect and would in fact go a long way to reassure the minorities who have unhappily suffered too grievously during the past two months. We have by the brutal behaviour of the misguided among us made ourselves a laughing stock in the eyes of the world and it is time that our leaders, both Hindu and Mussalman, sat together and took stock of things, so that the situation could be saved.

With all good wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ahmad Said
[Nawab of Chhatari]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE I

Camp New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear Liaquat,

As some of my messages were kept unreplied, I would not have taken the liberty to encroach upon your time as I know how terribly busy and worried you are at present. But I do think that in the interest of Muslims of the minority provinces I must write to you. The recent statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Khuhro, in which he said that Sind is an Islamic Government has caused a certain amount of difficulties for the Muslims in the minority provinces. If they are going to form theocratic Governments in Pakistan, there will be every justification for Hindus to form a Hindu Raj in the rest of India and, therefore, I would request you to make a definite declaration on this question or advise His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam to make some announcement including the following points:

1. that formation of Governments in Pakistan will be on a secular basis and not on a religious basis;
2. a declaration about the protection and rights of minorities in Pakistan; and
3. an expression of disappointment and regret at what happened in Western and Eastern Punjab with an assurance of protection and fair treatment to those who had left their homes and property if they come back to Western Punjab;

so that on the basis of reciprocity Muslims in minority provinces may hope to receive the same protection.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Ahmad Said

The Hon'ble Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
Prime Minister [of Pakistan]
Karachi

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ENCLOSURE II

Camp New Delhi
11 October 1947

My dear G.M.,

I herewith attach a copy of the letter I have written to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. As Liaquat could not reply to my letters since he left Delhi, I am enclosing a copy to you also to make a sincere effort in the interest of the minority provinces to get such declarations as I have suggested in my letter to the Prime Minister from Pakistan in most unequivocal terms. You can show this copy of my letter to the Prime Minister and to the Quaid-i-Azam, if necessary. What I wrote to Liaquat is not against the policy of Pakistan, but it should be made clear. For instance, the Prime Minister, Mr. Khuhro, in one of his speeches said something about Islamic States. They should be advised not to speak in these terms.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Ahmad Said

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad
Finance Minister
Karachi

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New Delhi
25 October 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 18 October 1947. I much appreciate the sentiments which you have expressed therein. Jawaharlal has in his speech after speech expressed the mind of the Government that they are determined to see normal conditions restored and to give all possible protection to the minorities. He has also mentioned that there was no question of India becoming a religious State. Indeed, the Congress Working Committee resolution on this subject is clear and unequivocal. None of us has spared any words in condemnation of the brutalities and atrocities which have been perpetrated on this side. On the other hand, you will notice that the declarations of Mr. Jinnah generally ascribe all the brutalities to India and gloss over the events on

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the other side. The latter are regarded merely as incidental and of comparatively ittle consequence. I hope, therefore, that the appeal which you have made to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Ghulam Mohammad will have some effect and that we shall get an unequivocal declaration on the lines which you suggest. I am sure such a declaration will have a good effect.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. Col. Nawab
Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, KCSI, KCIE
President, H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council
Camp New Delhi

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Rahat Manzil
Aligarh,
26 November 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Thanks for your letter of 25 October which I received here from Hyderabad yesterday.

I am glad to note that you agree with the views which I expressed in my letter of 18 October. I hope my friends in Pakistan also would find themselves in general agreement with these views. Frankly speaking, I see no other way out for India's misfortunes except that [the] leaders in both the dominions should be persuaded to put their heads together and solve this minority question once for all. It was with this end in view that I issued a Press statement through the representative of the Associated Press of India in Aligarh some time ago, wherein I had expressed my humble views on this question; but for some reason or other that statement could not appear in the Press. I enclose herewith a copy of that statement for your perusal so that you could have some idea as to how strongly I feel on this subject and how very essential I consider an early solution of this problem, if as a nation we want to face the world with our heads erect.

With all good wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ahmad Said

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
New Delhi

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New Delhi
27 October 1947

My dear Neogy,

Please see the attached application. It is a very pitiable and sad case. I dare say there are several others of this type. I think the best course would be for Government to accept responsibility at once for the families of Central Government servants in Pakistan who had opted for service in India but who have been killed during the disturbances or are untraced. Temporary relief to be afforded should bear some relation to the salary which a Government servant was drawing and a scheme should be devised for suitable allowances for the education, marriage etc. of their children. I do not think that Government can shirk its responsibility for the families of Government servants who stuck to their duty up to the last and lost their lives and left their families in destitute conditions merely because they obeyed our instructions to continue to serve in Pakistan until we made arrangements for their posting to India.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
Minister for Relief & Rehabilitation
New Delhi

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EXTRACT

Shahchara Lane
Lucknow
15 October 1947

Hon'ble Sir,

Importance and urgency of the subject matter of this letter have emboldened me to encroach upon your most precious time for which I beg to be excused.

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Events have occurred and circumstantial evidence exists in abundance which have made the loyalty of Muslims of India appear dubious in the eyes of the Government. In this atmosphere surcharged with suspicion and distrust, I come forward to assert my loyalty to my motherland and in proof whereof I beg to offer not only my services but also my life unreservedly and unconditionally in the cause of my country. I am ready to do anything, whether directed against any foreign power or person of my religion.

As a guarantee of my sincerity and truthfulness of my assertion I offer my mother and three unmarried sisters as hostages to be held by the Government.

Jai Hind.

Yours obediently,
Nasir Hussain Rizvi
[Vakil]

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New Delhi
20 October 1947

Dear Friend,

Thanks for your letter of 15 October 1947. I much appreciate the sentiments you have expressed. There is no question whatsoever of Government accepting any hostages—a system which is anachronistic. When the time and opportunity come it would be for you to give positive proof of your loyalty to the cause of India.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Nazir Hussain Rizvi, Esq.
Vakil
Lucknow

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CHAPTER XI

MINISTERS' SALARIES

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11 April 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from the Hon. Mr. [G.V.] Mavalankar.[1] He has been talking to me about this matter since his appointment, but I have asked him to wait till we can take a decision about ourselves. I have also advised him that it would be unwise to take individual decision which would probably cause more embarrassment to our other colleagues.

I would like to have your views in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

20 Akbar Road
New Delhi
9 April 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have been feeling a good deal uncomfortable over the following two points:

1. You remember, soon after my election to the Presidentship, and once or twice thereafter, I conveyed to you the desirability of reducing the salary of the President's post, suggesting that it may be about Rs. 2,000 a month, and in any case, not beyond Rs. 2,500.

2. Later on, I also began to have a feeling that the house I live in is too sumptuous for the kind of ideal which we have been pursuing and leading before the public for so many years.

1 Congress General Secretary, 1921; Speaker, Bombay Assembly; President, Central Assembly, 1946-52; first Speaker of Lok Sabha

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3. The Congress fixed a standard of Rs. 500 a month. The economic conditions have since then changed. The conditions in Delhi are also different. All the same, I do feel that a salary of Rs. 4,000 and a big palatial building do not fit in with the ideology and the general set-up of the Congress type of Swaraj. I also feel that our case gets morally indefensible, not only as regards the lower paid subordinate services, but we are a good deal misunderstood by the general public, when they see that we draw the same salaries and live in the same houses as people of old used to do. The scale of salary and the style of the houses do not reflect anything of rural India or the general poverty of the country. I do realise that I am unable to go to the logical length. At the same time, I do feel that I could considerably revise both the scale of salary and the style of the house I live in.

4. I would, therefore, like you to consider this question at least for me, so that I may be able to reconcile myself with the situation, as it is, and my ideals and feelings about it. I think we could, from our present position, set standards.

5. I know you have the same ideas, and I am carrying nothing new about it. I also know that the situation is complicated, as the Muslim League would not come in a line with the Congress. All the same, I do feel that we have to face the situation and begin to set separate standards. As I am myself drawing this salary, I have to be a dumb spectator to the way in which allowances are fixed and the heavy number of people forming foreign deputations, etc. I feel that there is a lot of wasteful expenditure of public funds, and the general impression created is that Congress workers are not putting in practice what they have been preaching all along. To my mind, this question is more important psychologically than financially, and you can, therefore, appreciate my worry.

6. I am trying to satisfy myself by giving donations liberally to educational and other institutions and causes, but that is hardly the correct way. This attempt at compromise with my conscience is liable to be attacked as drawing public monies just for the purposes of furthering some objects which I like. The best course, to my mind, therefore, is not to draw from public funds.

I need hardly say that I shall abide by what you decide. The present attempt is only to lay before you the state of conflict and uneasiness of my mind.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mavalankar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
13 April 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your letter of 11 April enclosing copy of a letter from Mavalankar. I appreciate what Mavalankar has written. But I entirely agree with you that this is not the time for any individual decisions which are likely to create difficulty and embarrassment to some of our colleagues. I feel, however, that the matter will have to be taken up some time or other, as soon as the immediate difficulties are resolved.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing a copy of the note which Shanmukham [Chetty] has sent to me on the question of salaries of Hon'ble Ministers. Below that I have recorded my own views of that question but have included a reference to other incidental matters. I suggest that copies of these notes may be circulated by your office to Hon'ble Ministers with a view to discussion at the informal meeting of the Cabinet tomorrow. As a result of the informal discussion, I would submit a formal proposal to the Cabinet so that necessary legislation may be passed at the next meeting of the Legislature.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

NOTE ON THE SALARIES OF HON'BLE MINISTERS

The gross salary of the Hon'ble Ministers of the Central Government is at present Rs. 5,500 per mensem. After income-tax and the rent of the furnished house allotted to them are deducted the net amount that they actually receive comes to approximately Rs. 2,800 per month. This does not, however, present the real picture of the net amount retained by a Minister when the ultimate assessment on his income is made by the Income-tax Department. In the case of a Minister who has no other private income he will ultimately retain the net amount that he gets now. This is not however the case in the case of Ministers who have private incomes over and above the salary. The burden of the tax will vary according to the income of the individual Minister. For example, in the case of a Minister who has an annual private business income of Rs. 1 lakh the additional income-tax and super-tax that he will have to pay on account of his salary income alone will be Rs. 64,954. This leaves him therefore only a balance of Rs. 87 per month out of his salary. This result is due to two factors:

a. When a business man is appointed as a Minister all his business income is taxed on the basis of unearned income, and

b. the rate of tax applicable to the salary in his case is the higher rate in the slabs above Rs. 1 lakh.

2. In fixing the salary for Ministers by an Act of the Legislature it would be equitable if it is so fixed that all Ministers will get an equal amount. This result can be achieved only if the salary fixed is made free of all taxes. Otherwise, whatever might be the scheme evolved, Ministers with private business incomes will be seriously handicapped. If this principle is accepted I would suggest that Ministers may be given a net salary of Rs. 2,500 per month free of all taxes (the salary to be excluded in calculating rate also) and a free furnished house inclusive of electricity and water charges. On this basis each Minister will get approximately the net amount that he receives every month.

3. Objection might be taken to any proposal to make the salaries of Ministers free of taxes. Theoretically the objection is valid. From a practical point of view, however, there is every justification for adopting this special course in the case of Ministers. The public ought to know what exactly is the net amount that a Minister gets as salary. The Minister must also be given a reasonable amount which will enable him to maintain himself in Delhi. I think Rs. 2,500 per month cannot be considered to be on the extravagant side.

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4. The Prime Minister is expected to entertain on a considerable scale. For this purpose, I would suggest an entertainment allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month for the Prime Minister. In addition to this a Government Hospitality Fund may also be maintained. If any Minister has to give an official entertainment he should be allowed to meet the expenses of the entertainment from this Fund. For example, at the time of the Asian Labour Conference the Minister for Labour may have to entertain visiting foreign delegates. The expenses of such an entertainment should legitimately be charged to the Hospitality Fund.

5. A Bill for fixing the salaries of Ministers must be introduced in the November session of the Legislature and passed during that session. I understand that the Bill has to be sponsored by the Home Ministry. If the suggestions that I have made above are accepted steps may be taken accordingly.

R.K. Shanmukham Chetty

14-10-47

HOME MINISTER'S NOTE

I agree with the Hon'ble the Finance Minister that for reasons stated by him and in order to do away with what is, in effect, discrimination between Ministers who have other sources of income and those who have not, it is necessary to fix emoluments on an income-tax free basis. I feel, however, that the figure mentioned by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister is on the high side. Particularly having regard to the fact that the present rate of emoluments, even when they are subject to tax, are generally regarded as being higher than the country can afford. I would suggest for the consideration of my colleagues that the salary of the Ministers should be fixed at Rs. 2,000 per month free of all taxes (including exclusion from calculating rate) and a free furnished house inclusive of electricity and water charges. I agree that an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month may be paid to the Prime Minister as entertainment allowance.

As regards official entertainments, the occasions are comparatively few and in each case where a Minister considers an official entertainment necessary, ad hoc sanction of the Finance Ministry should be obtained. For this purpose, a Government Hospitality grant may be obtained from the Legislature every year. It may not in practice be possible to confine ourselves within this grant, or it may be that in some years the grant may prove more than adequate. Nevertheless, it is only proper that the Legislature should vote this grant annually, at such tentative figure as may be possible to fix.

3. In regard to other allowances, at present the Ministers are entitled to an equipment allowance of £ 250 on their assumption of office. This was necessary at a time when Ministers had to equip themselves with costly uniforms. Now, as far as I can see, the only initial expense of a substantial nature that

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a Minister may have to incur would be on equipping himself with a car if he has none. I suggest, therefore, that the equipment allowance should cease, but that a Minister should be allowed an advance for the purchase of a car. The advance would be recovered in suitable annual instalments, and the car, until the instalments are paid, would be mortgaged to Government.

4. As regards other allowances, I feel that in present-day conditions a saloon is definitely out of date and unsuitable. If a Minister travels by train, he should be entitled to reserve a first class compartment. If he travels by car, the question of reservation does not arise, but I would like to suggest for consideration of my colleagues whether, in view of frequent use of aeroplanes by Ministers, two or three aeroplanes should not be purchased and kept in reserve for use by the Ministers. Other Government servants can use these aeroplanes if they are not required by Ministers.

5. In regard to car journeys, the present rate of allowances should be maintained. At present Ministers, when they are out on tour, get a daily allowance of Rs. 30. It is for consideration whether this allowance should be maintained at this rather high figure.

6. I would be grateful for the views of my colleagues on these matters. I am, therefore, circulating these notes with a view to discussion at tomorrow's informal meeting of the Cabinet.

V. J. Patel
Minister for Home Affairs

15-10-1947

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New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

With reference to your letter of 15 October enclosing notes about the Ministers' salaries, I have also written a note a copy of which I enclose. These notes will be circulated and we shall consider them at the informal meeting either tomorrow or the day after.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

MR. NEHRU'S NOTE ON MINISTERS' SALARIES

I am in general agreement with the note by the Minister for Home Affairs.

1. Salary of the Ministers should be Rs. 2,000 per month free of all taxes and a free furnished house inclusive of electricity and water charges.

2. Official entertainments, that is parties on a more or less large scale which can be considered official, should be paid out of the Hospitality Fund. Apparently each department has got such a fund. There might be one joint fund for all the Ministries and this should be voted for by the Legislature.

3. I do not like the idea of a special entertainment allowance for the Prime Minister. It is true that the P.M., both as P.M. and as Foreign Minister, is supposed to entertain considerably. Nevertheless, at the present juncture entertainments are not to be encouraged except when they are considered essential.

4. The equipment allowance of £250 should be abolished. But a Minister should be allowed an advance for the purchase of a car.

5. No saloons are necessary for Ministers. He should be entitled to a first-class compartment if he travels by train.

6. It seems to me essential that some planes should be kept for the use of Ministers. There were, I believe, some such planes. I do not know what has happened to them. The proper thing to do would be to have a number of planes belonging to the Indian Air Force available for ministerial use. This is the practice in England. I do not know if this is possible here owing to the small number of Air Force planes that we possess, and these are generally of the small size. One or two Dakotas and two or three small planes like Expediters or Avros might be kept.

7. I do not know what the rate of allowances for car journeys is. The daily allowance for Ministers seems hardly necessary as they are always somebody's guest everywhere. If it is considered necessary, it should be halved, i.e., Rs. 15.

The Finance Minister's note, the note of the Minister for Home Affairs, as well as this note should be circulated to Members of the Cabinet. They will be considered at the next informal meeting of Ministers. Later the matter

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will be considered by the Home Ministry and put up formally before the Cabinet.

J. Nehru

15 October 1947
New Delhi

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New Delhi
21 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a letter from Amrit Kaur about Ministers' salaries. I am inclined to agree with her, that is to say, that Ministers' salaries should be Rs. 2,000 per month (tax free etc.) plus Rs. 500 a month as entertainment allowance to each Minister. In effect, this means Rs. 2,500 as suggested by some Ministers. I suggest, therefore, that in the proposals the Home Ministry might draw up this basis might be adopted.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
18 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I was away in Simla when the notes on Ministers' salaries were circulated and could not, therefore, put in one myself.

I am of opinion that the tentative decision arrived at at the informal Cabinet meeting day before yesterday in regard to the salaries of Ministers should be reconsidered.

I am quite sure that we should reduce our salaries so as to come into line with the ideals for which we have stood and thereby rally public opinion in our favour. There has been much criticism, rightly or wrongly, that Ministers of the Central Government are carrying on in exactly the same way as Ministers in the past. If we can straightaway do something to assure them

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that we do think in terms of the poverty of this country we shall be following the right course.

I am, therefore, in full agreement with the Deputy Prime Minister's note with this exception that, in my opinion, both the Prime Minister and he should be given Rs. 1,000 per month each as entertainment allowance. The demands on them in the matter of entertainment are heavy.

I feel that if the other Ministers were also made eligible for receiving Rs. 500 a month (or less) as entertainment allowance, the question of maintaining such standards of life as have to be maintained in Delhi would be solved and the public would not then have any ground for complaint. Of course, it will be open to the Ministers concerned whether they take Rs. 500 or not. If we take Rs. 2,500 per mensem free of income tax plus other amenities, I do not think that we shall be taking any less than what we already do. The public would then have a right to say that the reduction is a mere hoax. The freedom from income tax of salaries should really meet the loss now borne by those who happen to have private incomes.

Yours,
Amrit

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

441

New Delhi
12 May 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a letter which John Matthai sent to me when he was about to leave for a ten days' programme in Bengal.

If the Pay Commission's Report is to be out on the 16th and is to be disposed of finally by us on that date, I think it would be better to take into consideration the suggestions made by him. I am not, however, sure that this question will be disposed of on that date.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
10 May 1947

My dear Sardar,

In pursuance of our conversation yesterday I wish to make the following suggestions regarding the publication of the Pay Commission's recommendations and Government's decisions on them.

The Government of India will issue an official communique containing the main recommendations of the Pay Commission and Government's decisions on them. This will be a short summary presenting in a brief but easily readable and intelligible form the rates of pay and allowances payable to all Government employees under the new arrangements. This, I understand, is already being prepared.

When this matter was discussed by the Cabinet you will remember it was decided that the presentation of Government's decisions should be in a form which would make a "human" appeal to the employees in the various Government services, including the Railways.

In considering how this could be best done, it has occurred to me that, immediately after the issue of the official communique, a Member of the Cabinet (preferably Jawaharlal) should broadcast a talk in as informal a manner as possible on the background and implications of the new proposals. The talk, in my opinion, should bring out particularly the following points:

(i) Government's desire that their employees should have a fair deal in the matter of the remuneration offered to them, particularly that such remuneration should provide a reasonable subsistence in relation to the cost of living;

(ii) That this places on labour a corresponding obligation to render the best service that they are capable of and that labour leaders should regard it as a special responsibility to bring home to their unions the great importance, in the present conditions of the country, of doing everything they can to increase production;

(iii) A special appeal to railwaymen in view of the fact that the transport position is particularly acute at present and is one of the principal causes which hinder increased production. Unless essential materials such as coal, steel and building materials are moved more speedily and regularly, production cannot be increased to the extent we require.

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The talk should be given in Hindustani, but a translation in English should be prepared for subsequent publication in the Press. I suggest it should be broadcast on Monday, 19 May, and notice of it should be given to All India Radio at least by the 15th. This will give them sufficient time to make the necessary arrangements.

As I am leaving for Calcutta tomorrow and shall be away the whole of next week, I shall be grateful if you will kindly show this letter to Jawaharlal when he returns to Delhi and also, if you consider it necessary, get the approval of the Cabinet at the next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

442

New Delhi
15 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I feel that we are using up too many men and soldiers in guarding Ministers' residences or persons at a time when there is a great need of these men elsewhere. I am, therefore, suggesting to the military authorities that not more than two soldiers should be posted to each Minister's house, apart from such policemen as may be necessary.

As for policemen also I have got far too many. There is a camp of five in the grounds and besides this I always have three plainclothes men in attendance. I think these might be reduced somewhat.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
16 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 15 September 1947.

I myself feel that the additional military and police guards at Ministers' residences are unnecessary. I was of this opinion

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even before, when Tarlok Singh contacted Shankar in regard to increasing the guards both at your place and mine. I refused to have any uniformed guards in my bungalow, but presumably a guard was put in your own compound. If you consider that it should be reduced, could you ask your Private Secretary to inform SSP who will then withdraw them?

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

444

New Delhi
3 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have been receiving several invitations to drink and cocktail parties from embassies, consulates-general etc. as well as from certain officers and public bodies in Delhi. At all these parties generally alcoholic drinks are served.

2. I feel that having regard to our declared policy of prohibition, it would be quite incorrect on our part to patronize such parties. I should, therefore, like to suggest at the Cabinet meeting tomorrow that Ministers should make it a rule not to give such parties themselves, whether officially or socially, and to instruct their officers to follow suit. We should also inform the foreign embassies, consulates-general etc. that, in future it will not be possible for us to attend functions where alcoholic drinks are served. Such a general rule would save a great deal of embarrassment; otherwise, consistent with this attitude, individual polite refusal would be the only alternative.

3. I would like to add that already there is considerable pressure that prohibition should be introduced in Delhi. Short of that measure, I feel that this is the least we could do. I hope, therefore, you will agree to take up this matter at the Cabinet meeting tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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CHAPTER XII

SUDHIR GHOSH EPISODE

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
13 February 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I see a report in the Statesman today that Sudhir Ghosh is to be appointed as a public relations officer in London. If there is any truth in this story I should be glad of the opportunity of discussing the proposed appointment with you next time we meet.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

446

New Delhi
17 May 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have gone through the letters from [M. K.] Vellodi[1] [Deputy High Commissioner, London] which you gave me some time ago and which I am returning herewith. Not having seen your first letter I am not familiar with the background and it is difficult for me to follow completely what Vellodi has said, but as far as I can make out, the points referred to the following three matters:

1. The Friends of India Committee;
2. the monthly India luncheon; and
3. the position of the High Commissioner vis-a-vis the Public Relations Officer.

[1] ICS; Secretary, Ministry of States, 1948-49; Chief Minister, Hyderabad, 1949-52; retired as Cabinet Secretary to Union Government

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2. As regards the first point, I personally see no objection to such a committee, nor to the association of the High Commissioner on a purely non-party plane. The committee would be something in the nature of a study group and I think that the High Commissioner should encourage, rather than keep himself aloof from, such a committee. It is of course impossible for him to take any active part in the committee's deliberations, but his knowledge of Indian affairs and currents of political thought in this country should, I feel, be at the disposal of the committee. In view of its non-party character it cannot be urged that the High Commissioner has associated himself with any particular party or organisation.

3. As regards the second point, I regret I am unable to see how Vellodi can argue that "anyone who reads that telegram must come to the conclusion that the High Commissioner had agreed to the proposal and was only seeking the Government of India's support." The telegram makes it clear that the proposal was that of Sudhir Ghosh and that what was wanted was our approval and support to this proposal. If Vellodi had any doubts, he should either have corrected the telegram in such a manner as he thought fit or could have followed it up by a personal telegram. It is difficult for me to concede that a man of Vellodi's experience and standing in service would agree to a draft merely because of a desire not to let down his subordinates. I personally feel, and the Press reports of the luncheon confirm, that the luncheon was a success and quite possibly nothing but good has emerged out of it.

4. As regards the last point, it is quite clear that the Public Relations Officer must function under the High Commissioner's guidance. For this reason, I made it clear in my telegram to Vellodi that the Public Relations Officer was free to utilise his entertainment allowance in such a manner as he thought fit in consultation with the High Commissioner. It is obvious, however, that the High Commissioner's control should not extend to every detail but that he should give general guidance to the PRO, who on his part should consult the High Commissioner in all matters of importance. In the very nature of things it is impossible for the High Commissioner to keep himself so much in touch with the Press and public as to be able to control the Public Relations Officer in all the details of his activities. He has, therefore, to trust his PRO a great deal and the PRO has on his part to keep the High Commissioner generally informed of what he

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is doing and take the High Commissioner's instructions in matters of sufficient importance. I am enclosing an extract of conclusions reached at an inter-departmental meeting regarding the status of information officers abroad and their relationship with ambassadors, etc. You will see that these are in accord with the principles I have mentioned here.

5. It is difficult for me to follow what Vellodi means when he says that "So far I have managed my end of the business with only one thought, namely, to avoid causing embarrassment to the Government of India and also to myself, but if the Public Relations Officer is to function effectively something more than this is necessary." The official position of the Public Relations Officer vis-a-vis the High Commissioner seems to be clearly understood both by Sudhir and Vellodi. It is for both to act up to it, and there is hardly any justification for the High Commissioner to ask for the support of the Government of India. It is possible the High Commissioner feels diffident about it owing to Sudhir's personal relations with me or high personages in the UK. If so, in my view Vellodi is completely mistaken. While these personal contacts of Sudhir should be of great advantage both to Sudhir and to the High Commissioner, they do not confer any privileged position on Sudhir in so far as his official relationship with him is concerned. My own candid opinion is that Vellodi is unnecessarily sensitive on this point.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Member for External Affairs Department
New Delhi

447

New Delhi
31 May 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending you herewith a copy of Sudhir's letter which I received this morning. I feel that something should be done to put matters right without undue delay. You will notice that Sudhir gives a different version about the luncheon incident from what Vellodi wrote to you. He has also referred to certain other activities which are hampering his work. If Sudhir is at all to be useful in England, it is clear that he must have the

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support of the High Commissioner and any other person in authority who may claim to speak for any of us here.

Before replying to Sudhir, I should like to discuss the whole matter with you and hence I am sending you a copy of his letter in advance.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

26 Chafsworth Court
Kensington
London, W.8
28 May 1947

My dear Sardar,

I am very sorry that I have not written to you for a long time. I waited to see how the situation with regard to my work stabilised itself before I worried you about my difficulties. My difficulties are really enormous. They are so unpleasant in character that the worry about them made me physically ill. I got your last letter when I was laid up in bed. I have got over this illness and sense of depression. But the problem has not solved itself. If this difficulty was created by any action on my part I would be prepared to make ample amends and put it right. But it is of a subtle nature. All these weeks I have resisted the desire to write to you about it but I must now tell you what is being said by various lieutenants of Mr. Krishna Menon[1].

A campaign is being carried on by people who are known to be prominent members of the India League. Two people who are taking the lead in this matter are Tarapada Basu, employed by an American news agency, and Zakaria, employed by the Blitz newspaper of Bombay—two Communists who are well known here as Mr. Krishna Menon's assistants. The propaganda runs thus:

"There is a deep cleavage between Nehru and Patel. Nehru represents the progressive forces in Congress and Patel represents the forces of reaction and there is bound to be a final struggle between those who are behind Nehru and those who are behind Patel—the Birlas and all the reactionary capi-

[1] Secretary, India League, London, 1929-47; Special Representative in London of Indian Government, 1946-47; High Commissioner, 1947-52; last assignment, Defence Minister; resigned from Nehru Cabinet in 1962 after Sino-Indian conflict

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talists. Krishna Menon represents in London Nehru and the progressive forces of India and Patel wishes to sabotage the good work done by Menon and the India League. With this end in view Patel has sent this man Sudhir Ghosh to London. All this talk about public relations is just an eyewash. The real purpose of sending Sudhir Ghosh is to set up a rival organisation which Sudhir Ghosh has now done by setting up a group of reactionary Britishers known as the Friends of India group. There is a sinister design behind it and this Sudhir Ghosh is here to boost Patel in London. He was sent by Patel in spite of all opposition from Nehru and much against his will. This Sudhir Ghosh is using India House as his base of operations to carry out his sinister project—and so on and so forth."

This, as you will see, is just a heap of pernicious rubbish. This is spreading rapidly in London and it is no longer confined to the Indian community and more and more English people are getting to know about it. [H.N.] Brailsford heard it from different sources and he is much perturbed about this unclean propaganda. I am not worried about the mental anguish it has caused me, but this sort of lies are bound to do great injury to the real interests of India in this country. I have to waste such a lot of time and energy worrying about this poisonous propaganda that it is impossible for me to give my whole mind to the work which has brought me here.

Surely Krishna Menon and I and all of our people here should have a sense of loyalty to all our leaders —to Gandhiji, to Panditji, to Sardar—to all those who made us what we are today.

The first time I heard your name mentioned and sensed something of this difficulty [was] from Mr. Vellodi and was somewhat of a shock to me. This was in connection with the endless discussion I had with Mr. Vellodi as to whether or not I should be allowed to give a lunch to provide a forum for periodical discussion of Indian affairs by a cross-section of British opinion represented by men of all parties and no party. When I first mentioned the proposal to Mr. Vellodi his immediate reaction was, "It is a good suggestion. It will do good and it should be done but I am afraid Mr. Krishna Menon will not like it. He will think that by getting together these men you are setting up a rival organisation to steal the thunder of the India League." I said that my purpose was merely to supplement all that was being done by others but not to compete with them in any way. He said he would like to be on the safe side by asking for your approval. So he sent a telegram to you and you gave your approval. In the meantime two letters came from Panditji—one to Mr. Vellodi and one to me—which seemed to indicate disapproval. This made Mr. Vellodi very nervous and he wanted to cancel the arrangements I had made. I pleaded with him that I had spoken to Brailsford and others and it would be very awkward for me to cancel it and I begged him not to do so. He telegraphed and telephoned to Panditji and in the end agreed

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not to stop me. I suggested that Mr. Vellodi should have a friendly chat with Mr. Brailsford, who was so enthusiastic about it, and discuss with him what it was all about. Mr. Brailsford suggested that he and I together should have a talk with Mr. Vellodi. I mentioned this to Mr. Vellodi and he very readily agreed to see Mr. Brailsford but said, "Please tell Mr. Brailsford that I would like to see him alone." I did not understand why this matter could not be discussed in my presence but I did not worry about it and asked Mr. Brailsford to see Mr. Vellodi alone. After his talk with Mr. Vellodi Brailsford came to my room and said, "I don't really understand what Vellodi says. He says he is afraid that Sudhir Ghosh's activities might be interpreted as Sardar Patel boosting himself in London. I do not understand how Sardar Patel comes into the picture. This is all very puzzling." That was the first time I heard your name mentioned.

During the last few weeks this propaganda has steadily spread and the promoters of the propaganda have given me the name "Patel's spy." I do not know whom I am supposed to spy upon. I understand the story is that I am spying upon India House as well as the activities of the India League. It is difficult for me to scotch these poisonous talks. If it was due to any sin of omission or commission on my part I would be humble and I would do all in my power to remedy this. But it is not within my power; for it really is not due to anything I have done or left undone.

I deliberately brought a letter from Panditji for Krishna Menon. This introduction, I am afraid, did not help me. Panditji said in the letter that I was being sent to London by Vallabhbhai Patel and he did not know about my qualifications for the job but he knew I would do my best and that I was keen and enthusiastic and sometimes over-eager. Panditji's remark that I was being sent by Vallabhbhai Patel was obviously an innocent remark; I am sure he did not mean that I was being sent here against his will. But I fear that Mr. Menon and Mr. Vellodi (with whom I know Mr. Menon shared the letter) read some unusual meaning in that very innocent remark.

I hate to worry you about these unpleasant things. I resisted the desire to write to you about it all these weeks, but now I feel I must tell you about it. For it is a lonely fight for me.

It is no problem at all for me to get on with Mr. Vellodi. I have had no difficulty at all with him. He did not approve of my seeing the members of the British Government and I implicitly obeyed him and kept aloof from the British Ministers. I have not displeased him in any way. He is quite nice to me. I have a great deal of respect for him; he is a very capable man and is much devoted to his work and I have admiration for these qualities in him. I also understand his difficulties, to some extent, but he reads too much meaning into what he has heard about differences between our leaders.

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Mr. Menon, however, is a difficult proposition in spite of his undoubtedly exceptional ability. I have heard it over and over again from public men in this country. With the exception of some Communists and two good souls, Agatha Harrison[1] and [the Rev.] Reginald Sorensen, nobody else in London can work with him. But, of course, my job should not bring me into conflict with him in any way. I am sorry he said to you that I did not go to see him before he went to India. I made at least half a dozen attempts to see him; he said he was very busy and put it off and put it off and went off to India without seeing me. As soon as he returned to London I wrote to him expressing my anxiety to see him. I have tried day after day but have not succeeded so far; he says he is very busy but will see me before he returns to India on Friday. I shall not be at all surprised if he goes away without seeing me. He can make time to see all the newspaper reports but evidently he is too busy to see me. But I will be humble and do all I can to appease him. Things would have been quite easy for me if I identified myself with the India League as soon as I arrived here, but if I did that I would have laid myself open to serious charges from the Muslim League, whose agent here watches every step I take.

All I have said above is the dark side of the picture. But there is a bright side of it too. After all, my job is to publicise India to the British and not to Indians, and the co-operation I have received from the British is more than I expected. During these last three months I have established very friendly contacts with all the key men in the British Press. The response I have received from them is much more than I anticipated. The editors of The Times, the Manchester Guardian, the News Chronicle, the Daily Herald, the [New] Statesman and all the other papers with the exception of a few reactionary papers like the Daily Mail and Daily Express have promised their full support. On the whole the demand made on my time by representatives of the British Press is more than I can do full justice to. But it takes a man in my position a little time to be really effective. I know a good few British people in the Foreign Office who have done this sort of job for the British Government in foreign countries. Their experience is that in this kind of a job it takes a man at least one year to establish himself and it is only in the second and the third year that he can produce results; after five years a man begins to be stale and dogmatic.

At present I am rather overwhelmed by the amount I have to do. I have to receive quite a steady stream of British newspaper representatives who come to discuss current Indian affairs; I have to go out to see some of them. I have to deal with a mass of correspondence. I get numerous invitations to speak. I have so far spoken at Oxford and at Cambridge, at Chatham House, Fabian Society, Labour Party meetings and at a conference of the

1 English disciple of Gandhi

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National Peace Council of Great Britain. I am addressing a Parliamentary Committee on India at Westminster in a few days. So I have a great deal to do. If only I did not have to worry about the poisonous propaganda of some of our own countrymen I could do a great deal more. I am badly in need of someone to assist me and I hope the Information Officer comes soon. Apart from the newly-created Public Relations Department a substantial part of the High Commissioner's office such as the India House Library have been transferred to the PRO.

As regards the group of prominent British public men whom I have encouraged to get together, kindly see the enclosed copy of a personal letter written by Brailsford [which shows I] have not sponsored any group. I have helped an influential group of Britishers, six Socialists, four Conservatives, three Liberals and three non-party figures—men who belong to all parties and no party—to get together to disseminate Indian information as much as possible. I see no harm in it. But if you and Panditji do not like it I shall keep aloof from them. I hope at some stage it will be possible to define what is expected of me; it would be a great help. For at present our countrymen here have their own idea of what I ought to be doing and when they find that I am not doing precisely those things many of them start sniping.

As regards Mr. [Syed Abdullah] Brelvi's query about newspapers sent here by airmail, I sent you a cable about it. The selection of these papers was made by the Information Department at Delhi and not by me. But any kind of selection is bound to be unsatisfactory and will cause annoyance to those whose papers are not included. The department cannot buy more than a limited number in view of financial difficulties. They are sending me exactly what they send to India Office. But if I may make a suggestion, we might make a request to all the editors, through the AINEC [All-India Newspaper Editors Conference] that they contribute complimentary copies of their papers free of charge, by air mail, to India House. The newspapers are prosperous and can afford to make this sacrifice for a good cause. This should, of course, apply to all the papers, including those that are being purchased at present. I believe most papers would respond to such a suggestion.

I have noted your instructions with regard to taking over responsibility from Joyce.[1] The only thing I am taking over is the publication of the weekly summary of Indian news. I do not have to do anything about the mechanical part of it. The printing and distribution of it will be done by the Stationery Office as is being done by them for Joyce. All I have to do is to put together the week's messages received from Delhi and hand it to the Stationery Office at the end of the week.

I have arranged with J. Arthur Rank, the British film magnate, to produce a 40-minute documentary news film of India giving a picture of the present

[1] Adviser on Publicity at India Office

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state of things in India. This film will be shown to millions of ordinary men and women in this and other parts of the world. If it is properly produced it should be a great help. Rank wanted my advice on it. His men will go to India fairly soon and I hope you will give them some help and advice.

As regards our main political affairs, I have not been able to do much, for I am anxious not to do anything contrary to the wishes of Mr. Vellodi; he as you know does not think it proper for me to see members of the British Government. I can easily keep in touch with them but it is not desirable to do this without Mr. Vellodi's encouragement. I can do this only if there is an understanding between you and Panditji and the High Commissioner and if the High Commissioner cheerfully gives his approval.

I, however, passed on to Sir Stafford Cripps the relevant portion of your letter.

Shanti is doing a post-graduate course in children's diseases at the Great Ormonde Street Hospital. She is well. We send our love to Maniben and to yourself.

Sudhir

PS.

I am sorry that I have written at such length but I had to do it.

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TELEGRAM

14 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi
India

IN VIEW OF THE GROSSLY EXAGGERATED PROPAGANDA IN THE BRITISH PRESS AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF COMBATING IT IT WOULD BE A GREAT HELP FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MY WORK HERE IF I COULD PAY BRIEF VISIT TO DELHI AND PUNJAB. ISMAY CAN GIVE ME LIFT IN HIS PLANE TO DELHI END OF THIS WEEK. IF YOU APPROVE I WOULD LIKE TO COME. I WILL OF COURSE SECURE APPROVAL AND SANCTION OF MY SUPERIORS.

SUDHIR

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TELEGRAM

17 October 1947

Sudhir Ghosh
Care High Commissioner for India
London

NO OBJECTION YOUR COMING WITH ISMAY.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

18 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

AM COMING WITH ISMAY LEAVING THURSDAY NEXT.

SUDHIR

451

New Delhi
24 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Some time back, you will remember, you mentioned to me a telegram which you had received from Krishna Menon about Sudhir Ghosh. I had not seen this telegram. Telegrams which are addressed to particular persons are sent from our Cypher Bureau direct and not circulated.

Later I asked for a copy of this telegram and it was shown to me. I did not think it necessary to take any action in the matter as you were dealing with it. In the course of some letters from our High Commissioner in London a reference was made to certain difficulties which had arisen in regard to the

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maintenance of discipline in the High Commissioner's establishment. Sudhir Ghosh was mentioned in this connection and it was stated that he was not easily amenable to the discipline of India House. I sent no reply to these letters on this point as you were seized of the matter.

I have now had another message from Krishna Menon in which he states that Sudhir Ghosh has acted in an unusual manner and without informing him or the Deputy High Commissioner had arranged to come to India with Lord Ismay. Some mention of leave for a fortnight had previously been made but further particulars had not been supplied. Ismay casually mentioned to Krishna Menon that Sudhir Ghosh wanted to return with him to India. Ismay was very much surprised to learn that Krishna Menon knew nothing about it.

I do not know all the facts or what steps you may have taken in this matter. Before replying to Krishna Menon's telegram I should be grateful if you could kindly let me know how matters stand.

I am sorry that there has been this continuous friction between Krishna Menon and Sudhir Ghosh. It is clear that work can only be done if a certain discipline is maintained in a large establishment. Krishna Menon has complained that there has been no discipline at all and hence work has suffered greatly at a very critical time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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EXTRACT FROM TELEGRAM DATED 26 SEPTEMBER 1947 FROM MR. KRISHNA MENON TO SARDAR PATEL

I AM GRAVELY CONCERNED AT WORKING OF OUR PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT. FOR REASONS OF AVOIDING COMPARATIVELY DRASTIC STEPS AND INEVITABLE FRICTION THAT WOULD RESULT I HAVE HITHERTO ALLOWED WORK OF THIS DEPARTMENT TO CONTINUE AS BEFORE AND ONLY GIVE ADVICE WHEN POSSIBLE. PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS CANNOT CONTINUE ANY LONGER WITHOUT PERMITTING WORK TO GO UNDER. I HAVE ENDEAVOURED WITH GREAT PATIENCE AND WITH INCORRIGIBLE HOPE RESTRAINED FROM

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ADDRESSING MYSELF TO THIS DEPARTMENT IN THE SAME WAY AS I DID TO EDUCATION DEPARTMENT WITH RESULTS THAT ARE ADMITTED ON ALL SIDES TO BE REMARKABLE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH CORRECT RELATIONS OR EVEN PREVENT ERRORS WITHOUT TAKING A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE. I AM ALSO OBLIGED TO SAY DEPARTMENT IS NOT PULLING ITS WEIGHT IN THIS OFFICE. I AM THEREFORE WITH ASSISTANCE OF DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER TAKING OVER ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTION, HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS AND ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY AS FROM OCTOBER 3RD. THE NEW INFORMATION OFFICER HAS PROVED COMPETENT AND HELPFUL. I NEED A PRESSMAN AND I URGE YOU TO SANCTION APPOINTMENT OF CHANDRA WHO IS HERE AND I REQUIRE HIM URGENTLY. THE REST OF THE ARRANGEMENTS REQUIRED IN THE DEPARTMENT ARE TECHNICAL STAFF AND REPLACEMENT OF INEFFICIENT PERSONNEL. THOUGH THESE ARRANGEMENTS COME UNDER NORMAL ADMINISTRATION AND WORK OF OFFICE WHICH I AM RESPONSIBLE TO GOVERNMENT I AM INFORMING YOU IN VIEW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES INVOLVED. I WOULD ALSO ADD THAT I FEEL SOMEWHAT GUILTY IN ALLOWING THINGS TO DRIFT AS THEY HAVE DONE DURING THIS CRITICAL PERIOD. I WOULD REQUEST YOU TO FEEL ASSURED THAT I HAVE STRIVEN PATIENTLY AND THOUGHT GREAT DEAL AND DISCUSSED WHOLE POSITION WITH DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER AND OTHERS. SUCH FUNCTIONS AS PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER CAN EFFECTIVELY AND PROMPTLY CARRY OUT CAN AND WILL BE UTILISED BUT I CANNOT CONSISTENTLY LET THINGS DRIFT. I HAVE ARRANGED FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS AT HIGH LEVELS DIRECT WITH ME AS IS APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY.

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EXTRACT FROM TELEGRAM DATED 29 SEPTEMBER 1947 FROM MR. MENON TO MR. NEHRU

IN VIEW OF SERIOUSNESS OF THE MATTER AM ASSUMING GENERAL DIRECTION OF INFORMATION AND CONTACTS AS ALREADY INFORMED. HAVE INFORMED PATEL. CANNOT LET THINGS DRIFT WITHOUT CONSEQUENCES.

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EXTRACT FROM TELEGRAM DATED 6 OCTOBER 1947 FROM MR. MENON TO SARDAR PATEL

POSITION SET OUT IN PARA NO. 3 OF TELEGRAM OF 26 SEPTEMBER HAS CONSIDERABLY DETERIORATED. THE ORGANISATIONAL AND DISCIPLINARY ASPECTS OF THIS ARE UNDER REVIEW BY DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER. DEEPLY REGRET THAT MY PATIENT ADVICE AND WARNINGS HAVE NOT YIELDED MUCH BETTER RESULTS. THE STEPS I PROPOSE TO TAKE WHICH I INTIMATED TO YOU IN ABOVEMENTIONED TELEGRAM OF 26 SEPTEMBER WAS DEFERRED BY ME FOR FURTHER EFFORTS BY DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER AND MYSELF. IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO LET MATTER DRIFT WITHOUT

(A) SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS ON REST OF INDIA HOUSE ESTABLISHMENT WHICH HAPPILY FUNCTIONING VERY SATISFACTORILY AND WITH MARKED AND PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT;

(B) ADVERSE AND REGRETTABLE RESULTS ON INFORMATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS WORK WHICH IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES MUST RECEIVE OUR BEST ATTENTION;

(C) UNHAPPY REPERCUSSIONS ON OUR RELATIONS WITH VARIOUS SECTIONS OF BRITISH FOREIGN AND INDIAN PRESS IN UNITED KINGDOM.

THE FUNCTIONING OF PR DEPARTMENT UNDER DIRECT SUPERVISION OF DHC AND MYSELF WILL NOW OPERATE AS FROM WEDNESDAY, 8 OCTOBER. REQUEST THAT ALL TELEGRAMS RELATING TO PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION SHALL HEREAFTER BE ADDRESSED TO DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER WHICH ALONE ENSURES THEIR . . . RECEIVING PROMPT ATTENTION FROM US.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT WE SHALL SUCCEED IN CORRECTING ERRORS AND IMPROVING PUBLIC RELATIONS AND INFORMATION WORK SPEEDILY AND WOULD LIKE YOU TO BE ASSURED THAT THERE NEED BE NO ANXIETIES IN HM'S MIND ABOUT THIS.

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TELEGRAM DATED 7 OCTOBER FROM SARDAR PATEL TO MR. MENON

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 6 OCTOBER RECEIVED THIS AFTERNOON. YOU MUST HAVE RECEIVED BY NOW OUR TELEGRAM ABOUT CHANDRA. REGRET FOR REASONS EXPLAINED THEREIN NOT POSSIBLE ACCEPT YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS. WE ARE SENDING [Jamal] KIDWAI FROM HERE SOONEST POSSIBLE. IMPOSSIBLE CONSIDER OTHER MATTERS IN ABSENCE OF DEFINITE INFORMATION. HITHERTO I HAVE HEARD FROM YOU NOTHING BUT VAGUE REFERENCES TO ARRANGEMENTS NOT WORKING SATISFACTORILY OR THINGS BEING ALLOWED TO DRIFT OR CERTAIN ORGANISATIONAL AND DISCIPLINARY ASPECTS. YOU WILL DOUBTLESS APPRECIATE I CANNOT COME TO A DECISION ON SUCH VAGUE GENERALITIES. I MUST THEREFORE ASK YOU DEFER ACTION UNTIL YOU HAVE FURNISHED ME DETAILS AND A DECISION IS REACHED BY ME.

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TELEGRAM

23 October 1947

From Hicomind London
To Foreign New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM KRISHNA MENON. REQUEST REFERENCE TO MY TELEGRAM DATED 22 OCTOBER. I DESIRE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO FOLLOWING DISTRESSING FACTS AND FOR YOUR DIRECTION.

2. GHOSH HAD NOT FURNISHED INFORMATION ASKED FOR BY DHC UNDER PARAGRAPH 56 OF OFFICE MANUAL WHEN OFFICE OPENED THIS MORNING. THEREFORE DHC SENT HIM AT 9.45 A.M. A WRITTEN NOTE HE HAD PREPARED ON NIGHT OF 22ND INVITING ATTENTION TO PARAGRAPH AND TO MY HAVING COME TO KNOW FROM OUTSIDE SOURCE THAT HE WAS LEAVING FOR INDIA AND THAT HIS DEPARTURE FOR INDIA REQUIRED PRIOR SANCTION OF GOVERNMENT.

3. LATER AT 10.30 THIS MORNING 23 OCTOBER GHOSH HANDED OVER TO DHC A NOTE BEARING PREVIOUS DAY'S DATE IN WHICH

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HE MENTIONED FOR FIRST TIME HIS INTENTION TO VISIT INDIA. THE NOTE STATED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED URGENT MESSAGE "FROM MAHATMA GANDHI IN RESPONSE TO WHICH HE HAD TO PROCEED TO DELHI AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT" AND THAT ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE FOR HIS TRANSPORT BY AIR FROM LONDON ON 26 OCTOBER AND RETURN ON 8 NOVEMBER. HE ALSO SHOWED DHC AN EN CLAIR TELEGRAM ADDRESSED TO HIM BY NAME FROM SARDAR PATEL WHICH READ "NO OBJECTION TO YOUR COMING WITH ISMAY."

4. GHOSH REFUSED TO TELL THE DHC WHETHER GANDHIJI HAD ASKED HIM TO GO TO INDIA OR WHETHER TELEGRAM PURPORTING TO BE FROM SARDAR PATEL WAS IN REPLY TO ANY PREVIOUS COMMUNICATION FROM HIM TO SARDAR PATEL. GHOSH ADDED THAT WHATEVER HE WISHED TO SAY WAS CONTAINED IN HIS NOTE OF 22 OCTOBER.

5. I SAW THESE NOTES AT 5.45 P.M. TODAY ON MY RETURN FROM SOUTHAMPTON WHERE I HAD GONE TO MEET STUDENT ARRIVALS.

6. FACT THAT GHOSH HAD TAKEN GANDHIJI'S NAME AND THERE WAS A TELEGRAM PURPORTING TO BE FROM SARDAR PATEL MADE IT INCUMBENT ON ME TO SEND FOR GHOSH MYSELF AND ENQUIRE ABOUT THESE MATTERS. THIS I DID IN PRESENCE OF DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER.

7. THOUGH GHOSH WAS WITH ME FOR 45 MINUTES HE DECLINED TO GIVE ANY DIRECT ANSWERS OR ADD ANYTHING TO CLARIFY PREVARICATIONS IN HIS NOTES BUT PERSISTED IN FURTHER PREVARICATIONS AND ILL-MANNERED REPLY. HE ADMITTED HE WAS ALWAYS AWARE SANCTION OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA WAS NECESSARY FOR HIS GOING TO INDIA. I POINTED OUT TO HIM HE HAD WITHHELD FROM ME HIS INTENTION OF GOING TO INDIA WHICH WENT TO ROOT OF THE QUESTION OF LEAVE WHICH WOULD NOT THEN BE IN MY HANDS. I ALSO TOLD HIM I HAD CABLED TO INDIA FOR SANCTION USING INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM ISMAY AND I WAS AWAITING IT. I ADDED THAT HE HAD WITHHELD RELEVANT INFORMATION REGARDING MESSAGES FROM GANDHI AND SARDAR PATEL.

8. BEFORE HE LEFT MY ROOM HE SAID "ALL I HAVE TO SAY IS CONTAINED IN MY NOTE. I DO NOT WISH TO SAY ANYTHING FURTHER." I NEED NOT ADD THAT INTERVIEW AND MANNER IN WHICH GHOSH TREATED ME AND DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER WAS MOST HUMILIATING AND WOULD NOT HAVE COME FROM ANY OTHER INDIVIDUAL IN THIS OFFICE. AS USUAL SEVERAL UNTRUTHFUL STATEMENTS MADE BY GHOSH. IT WAS SUCH AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT

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TO JOCKEY ME INTO A POSITION OF REFUSING LEAVE IN FACE OF WHAT I WAS INVITED TO INFER WAS DESIRE OF GANDHIJI AND SARDAR FROM WHOM GHOSH CLAIMED TO RECEIVE PRIVATE DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS.

9. I INFORMED GHOSH MATTER OF LEAVE DID NOT LIE WITH ME AND I WAS AWAITING GOVERNMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.

10. IN VIEW OF SARDAR PATEL'S PURPORTED COMMUNICATION I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF FACTS IN MY TELEGRAMS WERE MADE KNOWN TO HIM.

11. I AWAIT YOUR INSTRUCTIONS. IT MUST BE OBVIOUS NO HEAD OF AN ORGANISATION CAN FUNCTION IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES. I REGRET THIS IMPOSITION ON YOU BUT I HAVE NO OPTION.

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New Delhi
25 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 24 October 1947 regarding Sudhir Ghosh [see 448].

Copies of telegrams which I have been receiving from Krishna Menon about Sudhir Ghosh are generally endorsed to your private secretary, and I thought that in the ordinary course you would have seen them.

At the time Krishna Menon was appointed, I had grave misgivings as to whether he would allow Sudhir Ghosh to function at all. I know that he cannot tolerate the presence of anyone who has as high contacts as Sudhir had. Even then, both Gandhiji and I had a talk with him when he left, and I told him that if he found that there was anything wrong he should let me know. Nevertheless, my misgivings persisted, and quite frankly I was not at all surprised when I received first intimation of it in a letter from Sudhir. In that letter, Sudhir had mentioned that Krishna Menon was dead set against him and that he had openly told responsible persons that Sudhir was his enemy and that there was no place for both of them in the same office.

I did not consider it necessary or proper to say anything on this matter to Sudhir; in fact, I did not reply to that letter at all. Krishna Menon's first telegram which came to me about the last week of September did not, therefore, come to me as a

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revelation. In that he made some vague references to lack of discipline and the necessity of taking into his own hands all the publicity arrangements, without mentioning even the name of Sudhir. This was followed about a week later by another telegram, in which he said that things had not improved and that he was going to take over publicity in his own hands with effect from the next day. I replied to him that it was impossible for me to come to any decision on the vague and indefinite information that he had given to me, and therefore I must have more details. I asked him in the meantime not to disturb the present arrangements. In reply to this telegram, I received a long telegram from Krishna Menon dated 18 October (which probably you have seen, as according to the distribution list two copies have gone to your private secretary). You will notice that it contains a long catalogue of acts of omission and commission perpetrated by Sudhir Ghosh. I must say at once that I am not prepared to accept, on the face of it, everything that Krishna Menon has said. Knowing both of them as well as I do and with the background of the case as I know it, it is necessary that we suspend judgment until we have the other side of the picture before us. Krishna Menon has taken great pains to mention that in whatever he has done and written he has had the support and evidence of his Deputy High Commissioner. In fact, his latest telegram on this subject dated 24 October which is addressed to you and a copy of which has been sent to my private secretary shows it quite clearly that the Deputy High Commissioner has been made by him a witness of things that have been happening between him and Sudhir Ghosh. Unfortunately, however, I know the Deputy High Commissioner also. He was in Bombay for a fairly long time. A reference has been made in that telegram to Sudhir's correspondence with me. I enclose copies of the telegram which Sudhir sent to me and of my reply thereto. You will see that in this telegram Sudhir clearly told me that he took the consent of the High Commissioner to his coming out to India with Lord Ismay.

At present I am waiting for a full report giving the factual account which Krishna Menon has promised to send by air mail as soon as possible. For the time being, I feel that the best course would be for Sudhir to come to India with Lord Ismay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
8 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Sudhir Ghosh came to see me two or three days ago and we had a talk. I do not know if you have come to any decision about him. The personal aspect has come to the forefront but I am not concerned with this. It seems clear from various accounts, the latest of which is Bidhan Roy's, that Krishna Menon and Sudhir Ghosh do not fit in with each other and it is unfair to both to be yoked together in one place. In fact, things have come to such a pass that Sudhir Ghosh can hardly go back to London without our asking Krishna Menon to resign from his post.

From all accounts that I have received from various sources, Krishna Menon has done very good work and he has brought some order into the office of the High Commissioner in London. There is a general appreciation of his work from different quarters, including many that were previously unfriendly. I have no doubt that he must continue there.

The consequence of this is that Sudhir Ghosh should not be stationed in London. How far he is suitable for some other foreign appointment, I do not know. Could you kindly let me know what you propose to do about London in this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

459

New Delhi
13 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Three or four days ago I wrote to you about Sudhir Ghosh and enquired what you proposed to do about him. I pointed out that whatever the merits, it is quite clear that he did not fit into the present set-up at India House. If he was sent back there, Krishna Menon could not continue. Obviously, Krishna

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Menon has to continue there, as he has done remarkably well. The consequence is that Sudhir Ghosh should not go back.

I have not heard from you on this subject, but on my return I received a cable this morning from Krishna Menon as follows:

"I RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING EN CLAIR TELEGRAM FROM THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING DATED 11TH NOVEMBER. BEGINS SUDHIR GHOSH RETURNING TO HIS POST SHORTLY. HIS LEAVE EXTENDED BY ONE WEEK. WILL LET YOU KNOW DATE AND TIME OF HIS DEPARTURE ENDS. NO OTHER COMMUNICATION OF ANY KIND HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY ME FROM THE HON'BLE MINISTER OR MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING, SINCE SUDHIR GHOSH LEFT, OR IN ANSWER TO MY REQUEST AND FACTS SENT TO SARDAR PATEL."

On reading this telegram I had an enquiry made from [G. S.] Bhalja[1] and he told us that Sudhir Ghosh was due to leave tomorrow morning by air. I have asked him to delay his departure till I have had an opportunity of discussing this matter with you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

460

New Delhi
14 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 November 1947 regarding Sudhir Ghosh.

I could not reply to your previous letter because I felt that before we made up our mind on this difficult question it was only fair and proper that we should give Sudhir a chance to reply to Krishna Menon's allegations against him and then come to a proper decision. Shortly after I received your letter, Sudhir left for a tour of the East Punjab, from where he returned on Saturday last. He naturally took some time to reply to those charges. I got it late on Monday evening, and as I anticipated we would have done grave injustice if we had acted on Krishna Menon's allegations alone. You were not here on Tuesday, and I have been away on Wednesday and Thursday. Today is, therefore, the earliest that I could reply to your letter.

[1] ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting

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I had arranged for Sudhir's return to London, as I felt that, quite apart from any other considerations, the presence of his wife in London made it necessary for him to return. The telegram, the wording and the transmission of which as en clair has surprised Krishna Menon, is purely a business telegram indicating that we had extended Sudhir's leave by one week and that we would intimate the date of his departure later. I do not see why Krishna Menon should make a grievance of it. After all, Sudhir was on leave and had not been recalled by us; he is, therefore, entitled to return to his post. Further, unless human considerations are to be ruled out, merely because Sudhir has fallen foul of Krishna Menon, Krishna Menon should have realised that at least the presence of his wife in London necessitates Sudhir's return. I would like to add, however, that the telegram was sent by Bhalja as a routine matter and was not shown to me. However, in view of your instructions, Bhalja has already cancelled Sudhir's passage.

It seems to me that the fact that Krishna Menon cannot even tolerate Sudhir's return from leave to London shows to what extent he has carried personal animosities. When Krishna Menon was appointed, as I have already written to you, I had grave misgivings about Sudhir being able to carry on as Public Relations Officer under Krishna Menon. I then told Krishna Menon that if he felt that he could not carry on with Sudhir he had to tell me and I would arrange for his return; instead of following this simple and straightforward course, for reasons best known to him, he has preferred grave allegations against him. Those allegations reflect not only on Sudhir's competence to hold the post, but also on his personal character. I am sure you will agree with me that to condemn Sudhir Ghosh on Krishna Menon's allegations alone without giving Sudhir Ghosh an opportunity to present his side of the case would have been the height of injustice and unfairness to a man whose capabilities, integrity and character have won high praise from more distinguished persons.

I enclose a copy of Sudhir's reply to Krishna Menon's allegations. It is impossible—nor would it be fair—to ascribe in any hurry blame or responsibilities over the most unfortunate differences that have taken place between Sudhir and Krishna Menon; nor would it be possible to ignore the allegations altogether, as they involve, more important than anything else, Sudhir's personal character and honour and because, if allowed

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to remain unrebutted, they would seriously prejudice his future. I am sure you will see the fairness and justice of this position. Nevertheless, I had it in mind even before—and I stick to it even now—that if Krishna Menon is prepared to force the issue to this extent as to say that if Sudhir returns he would leave or that Sudhir could not fit in with him, then Sudhir must come back. For the present, however, I hope you will agree with me that Sudhir should return to London as Public Relations Officer for a few days, so that he could wind up both official and personal matters and arrange for his wife's return.

Both in this letter and in the previous one, you have referred to the good work done by Krishna Menon. I should not like to make any comments on this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

461

New Delhi
15 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th about Sudhir Ghosh.

2. I have not gone deeply into the charges, counter-charges and replies. I glanced through Krishna Menon's charge-sheet rather hurriedly and the impression produced upon me was that Sudhir Ghosh and he did not fit in at all either temperamentally or otherwise. I felt that there had been indiscipline; but when people do not fit in, this almost inevitably happens. Most of the other charges could also be explained in that way. But, as I have said, I did not read them carefully.

3. I have been influenced to some extent in coming to this decision by reports from Dr. Bidhan Roy and from some other people coming from London.

4. You are perfectly right in saying that it was totally unnecessary for Krishna Menon to prepare this charge-sheet. All that was necessary was for him to say that he could not pull on with Sudhir Ghosh. Anyway, as the charges were made Sudhir Ghosh had obviously to be given a chance to reply to them.

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5. Sudhir should certainly go back to London to wind up his affairs and arrange for his wife's return. I did not know that his wife was there with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You told me some time back that Sudhir Ghosh was returning to London to wind up his affairs and bring back his wife. I do not know if he is still in London or has left his post there. In case he has not been transferred, I hope this will be done soon as the position in India House must necessarily be difficult after all that has happened. Our work will suffer greatly.

I was reminded of this matter today when Mountbatten asked me about it. I do not know the exact position now and so I am writing to you to enquire.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

463

New Delhi
12 December 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 December 1947 regarding Sudhir. I am more anxious than anybody else can be to arrange for Sudhir's return as soon as possible and not to keep him there for a day longer than is necessary. I have already received a telegram from him that he is leaving London next Tuesday and will be here on Thursday. I hope it will set at rest your anxiety about the functioning of India House.

2. After my return from the Cabinet meeting, I saw the note circulated by the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry regarding

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houses vacated by the Muslims in Delhi with particular reference to predominantly Muslim mohallas. I was particularly struck by the following statement:

> "No break-up can be provided as the survey of houses cannot be safely undertaken by Hindus in Muslim areas. There are also very few vacancies as the owners have made some kind of arrangement for looking after their houses in their absence."

I am wondering whether the assumption on which our discussions in the Cabinet were based, namely, that Muslims in predominantly Muslim mohallas suffered from a sense of insecurity, is correct, if a Hindu official cannot even dare go into Muslim areas and whether, having regard to the actual dimensions of the problem, as revealed by this statement, all this attention to this problem was worth giving.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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CHAPTER XIII

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Viceroy's Camp India
(Dehra Dun)
19 January 1947

Dear Pandit Nehru,

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been pressing on me the proposal that there should be an Appointments Committee of the Cabinet to advise me on appointments which, under the present rules, come to me. I think there is a good deal to be said for the proposal. Clearly, however, one committee could not cover both appointments in the Government of India and representational appointments abroad, and I think we should appoint the following committees:

APPOINTMENTS COMMITTEE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Dr. Matthai

COMMITTEE FOR APPOINTMENTS TO REPRESENTATIONAL POSTS ABROAD

Pandit Nehru
Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan
Dr. Matthai

I should be glad of your comments.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
23 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Thank you for your letter of 19 January regarding the formation of committees of the Cabinet to consider certain appointments in India and appointments of representatives abroad. As this suggestion involves a complete departure from the practice hitherto pursued, it deserves careful consideration.

Normally, it would be desirable to have committees of the Cabinet to deal with various functions and appointment committee or committees might facilitate business. In the present state of affairs, we have, unfortunately, to face a difficulty. The Cabinet itself does not work as a team and any committee appointed would, likewise, suffer from the same disability.

In your letter you say that the Appointments Committee would advise you in regard to appointments. It is not quite clear what this means. I understand that Sardar Patel's suggestion was that selection by a board or committee would be considered by the Member in charge and thereafter the proposal would go for final decision to the Committee of the Cabinet. Thus the decision would rest with the Cabinet Committee and would not require approval or sanction by you before it took effect.

In regard to foreign appointments, a certain uniformity of policy is obviously necessary and care has to be taken that secrecy is maintained till the appointment is jointly announced by the two countries concerned. There must be a capacity to co-operate with each other among the persons so appointed.

In the committees you have suggested two names are common to both, although the departments of these two Members are not particularly associated with such appointments. So far as appointments abroad are concerned, the three departments concerned are External Affairs, Commonwealth Relations and Commerce. I must confess that the proposal to form these committees for appointments at present and without much further elucidation does not appeal to me. One fact at least should be

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made clear, whether these committees are the final authority in the matter or not.

Recently my department suggested a name for appointment as our representative in Ceylon. You have expressed your disapproval of this name. I understand that this is a rather unusual procedure and it puts me in difficulty. The name had been put forward by my department of their own accord. I approved of it also because of my long personal acquaintance with the person concerned. It is difficult for me to make any suggestions if they are to be overruled in this manner.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

466

New Delhi
31 January 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

I have been giving careful consideration to the proposal that Cabinet committees might be appointed to consider and decide upon higher appointments in India as well as abroad. I have consulted some of my colleagues also on this subject.

2. In your letter of 19 January you suggested the appointment of two such committees. On 23 January I sent you a reply in which I pointed out certain difficulties, more specially in regard to appointments to representational posts abroad. I think there is a difference in regard to appointments in India and abroad. The former could more easily be made by a Cabinet committee, though even that would be a departure from the normal practice not only in India but elsewhere and it would bring certain difficulties in its train. Appointments abroad, to my knowledge, are nowhere made by committees for obvious reasons and in their case an Appointments Committee would create even greater difficulties. Those difficulties are not lessened by the present set-up of the Cabinet which, according to some of its Members, is not a Cabinet at all and not even a coalition. If people are appointed to posts abroad on party or communal grounds, our foreign policy would soon be discredited. I realise that in existing circumstances care has to be taken that any representation is not

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one-sided either from the communal or the provincial point of view. Care has to be taken to give all communities and provinces a chance as far as possible and the proportions laid down for the services should be followed as far as possible. But there are certain overriding considerations of merit, suitability and conformity to the prevailing policy which cannot be overridden without peril. Foreign appointments, even more than appointments within the country, are not merely high offices to be distributed as spoils to various parties or aspirants. They have to be thought of in terms of fitness not only in regard to the general policy to be pursued but also with reference to the particular country or post. A person may be fitted as a representative in one country and yet may be totally unsuited for another.

3. Our general policy has to be laid down by the Cabinet as a whole and we have already stated in our instruments of instructions to some of our representatives abroad that they must steer clear of any party or communal lines. It would be exceedingly unfortunate if any of our representatives functioned abroad as communal propagandists. Of course the persons selected may and often will belong to particular parties. But they must be such as can rise above the party level and function as national representatives.

4. Thus far the External Affairs Department and the Commonwealth Relations Department have appointed four persons to relatively important posts abroad. The latest appointment is that of a senior member of the Foreign Service, Mr. K. P. S. Menon, who is going to China as our Ambassador. The other three are, as it so happens, all Muslims—Mr. Asaf Ali,[1] Ambassador in Washington; Dr. Rauf as our Representative in Rangoon; and Mr. [M.R.A.] Baig as our Consul in Goa. In choosing these three persons I did not think at all as to whether they were Hindus or Muslims, but tried to find the fittest man for the place. It so happened that the three persons chosen were all Muslims, one of them being a colleague of ours in the Cabinet and the two others being persons unconnected with any party or political activity. Some criticism was made about my appointments, to the effect that I was choosing Muslims only and neglecting Hindus and others. I did not pay much attention to this criticism because I was satisfied that on merits the choice was good. But, of course,

[1] Deputy Leader, Congress party in Central Legislature, 1945; Minister of Transport in Interim Government; Ambassador to US; Governor of Orissa

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I cannot ignore, in existing circumstances, the fact that a certain balance has to be aimed at.

5. It seems to me that it will be [particularly] unfortunate if names are discussed in committees or in the Cabinet. This would be undesirable in the case of servicemen and it would be much more so in the case of men or women who are non-officials and who have been connected with the public life of the country. The initiative for an appointment in any of our departments should come from the department itself. If any person is thrust on a department against the wishes of that department, this will inevitably lead to a lack of co-operation and possibly to some conflict.

6. In my letter of 23 January I suggested that there should be further elucidation of the proposal you have made. There appeared to me to be a difference in your proposal and that put forward by Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel's idea was that the Appointments Committee should have in effect final authority to make a decision. Your proposal refers to a committee to advise you on appointments. If it is a question of advice and recommendation, there is no reason whatever why there should be a committee. The only point of having a committee is to give it authority to appoint. The committee would in effect function on behalf of the Cabinet and approval by you would be purely formal. This point has to be made clear. While I dislike very much the idea of appointments committees to be set up and thus starting a practice which is unknown in other countries and which may well lead to complications, I realise that in the abnormal conditions prevailing at present some way out has to be found. Perhaps the formation of such committees would be the lesser evil. I cannot say definitely now as there is a lack of the spirit of co-operation amongst the Members of the Cabinet and far too great a desire to emphasise purely communal issues and appointments based on communal considerations. With this background it is not unlikely that some persons so appointed might function far more as representatives of a communal party than of the nation and government as a whole. This danger has to be avoided. Any arrangement now would have to be temporary and experimental so that we may know exactly whether it works satisfactorily or not. In case it does not prove satisfactory, it will have to be put an end to.

7. Keeping all these considerations in view, I am prepared to accept the principle of having Cabinet committees for appointments, both for service in India and abroad. But it should be

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clearly understood that these committees are not merely recommendatory and advisory. They must decide finally. In the case of important appointments, if there is any dispute, the matter might be referred to the Cabinet itself. The initiative for proposing any name or names should come from the department concerned.

8. This arrangement would be provisional and might be reviewed later.

9. If this principle is agreed to and accepted, the question of names for the committee can be considered later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
5 February 1947

Dear Pandit Nehru,

Thank you for your letter of 31 January about Appointments Committees of the Cabinet.

2. I do not think there is any misunderstanding between us about the constitutional position. The appointments in question are by the Governor-General-in-Council and there would be no question of the decisions of the Committees being reversed without reference to the Cabinet. The word 'advice' in my letter of 19 January was perhaps misleading.

3. There is one other point in your letter on which I must comment. You speak in paragraph 7 of the initiative coming from the department concerned. You may be thinking of external appointments, and if so, I agree. In regard to internal appointments of officials, I do not think we could get satisfactory results in this way. No one department knows who is available, what his merits are compared with those of his colleagues, what service claims are involved, or what general policy should be pursued. I do not think it would be suitable, for instance, to permit a department to demand that a particular Deputy Secretary in some other department should be moved over to a vacant post of Joint Secretary. There might be better or senior officers available, and officers with greater claims to promotion. The implementation of the

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policies laid down by Government for appointment and promotion should be watched by a single authority which should keep in mind such matters as the length of service at which promotions are permitted, communal representation in new appointment, and so on. If departments were to pick out individual officers from provincial cadres, surely the matter would soon get out of hand. I am sure that the initiative should be taken as before by the Selection Board, and in the case of the Finance Pool by the Establishment Committee, and that their proposals should always be considered by the Appointments Committee before a decision is taken.

4. I feel sure that we ought to set up these committees at once as the present position about appointments is unsatisfactory and undignified. The arrangement can certainly be provisional and subject to reconsideration later if necessary.

5. I suggest that we should very shortly discuss the personnel for these committees, and I hope you will agree.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
10 February 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Thank you for your letter of 5 February about Appointments Committees of the Cabinet. I appreciate what you have written about the initiative in regard to internal appointments.

I agree that these committees should be appointed as early as possible. But in view of what my colleagues and I wrote to you a few days ago in regard to the composition of the Interim Government, I think it will be better to await a decision on that matter before discussing the personnel of the Appointments Committees.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

H. E. Viscount Wavell

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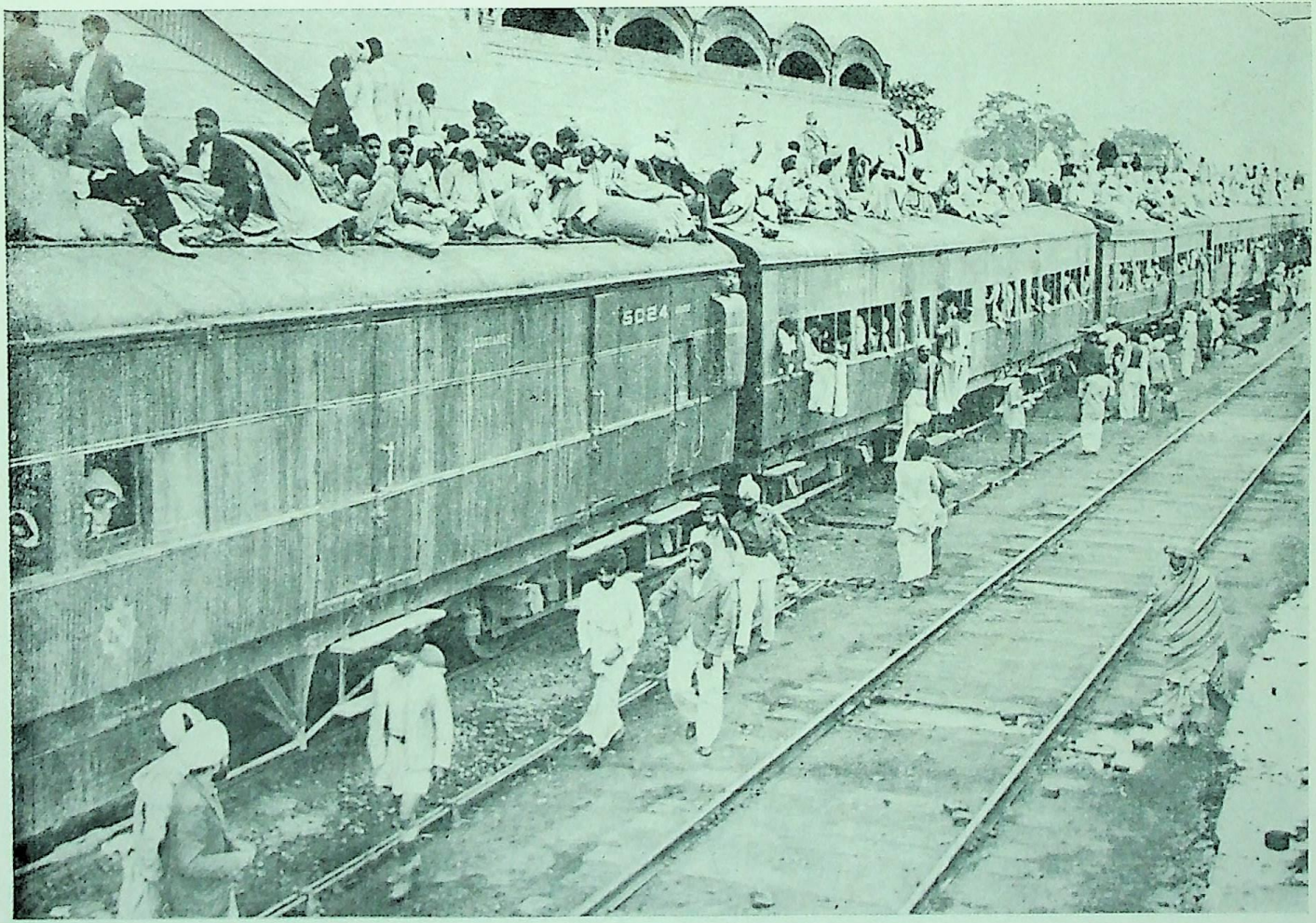

A REFUGEE TRAIN FROM WEST PAKISTAN AT AMBALA RAILWAY STATION IN EAST PUNJAB

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A MEAL FOR REFUGEES FROM WEST PUNJAB AT A CANTEEN NEAR DELHI RAILWAY STATION BEFORE THEIR DISPERSAL TO VARIOUS CAMPS IN SEPTEMBER 1947

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New Delhi
9 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

You will recall that in my letter of 1 November 1946 regarding an Appointments Committee of the Cabinet, I suggested that it was appropriate that the Establishment Officer should be placed under a department of the Government of India. The proposal regarding an Appointments Committee has now been agreed to in principle, and I feel that it is necessary that we should take up urgently the question of the Establishment Officer, particularly since I understand the present incumbent is due to retire on 31 March 1947.

2. The present position is of course that the Establishment Officer has been placed under the Cabinet Secretariat, but after this Appointments Committee is established, the Establishment Officer might become Secretary to the Committee. It is, therefore, necessary that the impending vacancy in that appointment should be filled with due regard to that contingency. Apart from this, the larger part of the Establishment Officer's duties pertains to officering the Secretariat rather than to the Establishment Committee, and from this point of view also, it would seem appropriate that the Home Department should have a good deal of say in that appointment.

3. In these circumstances, I suggest that the question regarding the appointment of an Establishment Officer should be considered as soon as possible in consultation with me. As soon as the question of an Appointments Committee is settled, we can then examine whether the Establishment Officer should continue as at present under the Cabinet Secretariat, or should be placed under the Home Department, which I feel is the only administrative department under whom he could be appropriately placed.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
30 April 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

You know the difficulties I have encountered over setting up Appointments Committees. Pandit Nehru has suggested that for the time being we should drop the proposal so far as external appointments are concerned, and I have agreed. He will have informal discussions where necessary with the Finance Member.

2. I have come reluctantly to the conclusion that we had better carry on as we are, for the present, in regard to internal appointments also; though I fully appreciate the objections to doing so. I am informing the Finance Member.

3. If you cared to discuss any special cases with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, as Pandit Nehru has offered to do in the case of the Agent General [to] Ceylon, I feel it would help but I leave this to your own discretion.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

471

New Delhi
7 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please see your letter dated 30 April 1947 regarding Appointments Committees.

2. I am sorry to learn that it has not been possible for you to push through this suggestion which was originally made by me in November last year, but I fully appreciate your difficulties.

3. I am sorry I have not been able to follow your suggestion regarding consultation with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in the case of internal appointments. These appointments are not centralised in the Home Department, but are made by departments themselves. Where your approval is required, the papers are sent to

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you direct after the Member in charge of the department has indicated his preference. If your intention is that all non-League departments should consult H.M. Finance on individual appointments, I anticipate many difficulties in making your suggestion acceptable to my other colleagues, particularly when there is no indication of any reciprocity.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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Viceregal Lodge
Simla
13 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 7 May about the Appointments Committee.

2. It was not my intention that you or your colleagues should consult H.M. Finance about all cases of internal appointments, though I hoped that in certain special cases you would consult him informally before submitting the case for orders. I will mention verbally the particular case I had in mind next time we meet.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

473

New Delhi
9 March 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have seen the Cabinet Secretariat memorandum intimating to us that the Viceroy sees no reason to reconsider our previous decision that there should be one Foreign Service of diplomatic, consular and commercial appointments. Now that our previous decision has been reaffirmed, I feel that we should lose no time in giving effect to it, particularly since it appears that the Commerce Department is going ahead at breakneck speed in filling

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commercial appointments on communal, if not political, grounds. I hope you will take urgent appropriate action to this end.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road
New Delhi

474

New Delhi
11 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am not quite sure if the cumulative effects of appointments to the posts of Trade Commissioners and other similar posts overseas made since October 1946 have attracted your attention. As far as I have been able to gather the previous appointments were as follows:

1. Trade Commissioner, New York	Mr. S. K. Kripalani, ICS (now vacant)
2. Deputy Trade Commissioner, New York	Mr. I. Shaffi
3. Trade Commissioner, Canada	Mr. Ahuja
4. Trade Commissioner, Mombasa	Sardar Sahib Sagar Singh
5. Trade Commissioner, Teheran	Mr. Hasan
6. Trade Commissioner, Alexandria	Mr. Rahim
7. Trade Commissioner, Paris	Mr. S. S. Bajpai
8. Trade Commissioner, UK	Sir David Meek
9. Trade Commissioner, Sydney	Mr. R. R. Saxena

2. Recent appointments have been as follows:

1. Trade Commissioner, UK	Mr. Ikramullah, ICS
2. Deputy Trade Commissioner, UK	Mr. A. S. Lall
3. Indian Supply Mission, UK	Mr. Habibullah
4. Economic Adviser to Indian Military Mission, Berlin	Dr. Mukhtar
5. Personal Assistant to above	Prof. Abdul Majid
6. Trade Commissioner, Milan	Mr. G. Ahmed, I.P.
7. Trade Commissioner, Sydney	Mr. A. D. Azhar (vice Mr. R. R. Saxena)

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3. The above list will make it quite clear that the representation of non-Muslims in these appointments has been very inadequate. In fact the impression one gathers is that it has been largely ignored. I presume the Commerce Department obtained your approval to these appointments, but while dealing with individual cases it is of course impossible for you to have realised the cumulative effect of these appointments in regard to communal representation. I feel that something should be done to retrieve the position. I understand that some appointments are still to be made: New York, Singapore, Rangoon and Iraq. It is possible other posts e.g. Switzerland, Japan, South American countries, may also be created. I would request you that in filling these appointments, this aspect of the matter be borne in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
17 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 11 May about appointments to the posts of Trade Commissioners and other similar positions overseas.

2. In the short time I have been out here I have been frequently embarrassed by recommendations from Members of the Government in regard to appointments coming within their province, when it was quite clear that the recommendations were based not solely on merit but mainly on either political or communal grounds. The examples you quote of the Trade Commissioner posts are, I am afraid, indicative only of what is going on also in other departments, but the majority of the appointments you mention were made previous to my arrival.

3. It was in an endeavour to prevent such bias in regard to these appointments that I tried to achieve agreement in regard to the setting up of Appointments Committees, both for internal and external appointments, and I am very sorry that my efforts did not achieve success. I am hoping that the political decision for the future of India will be given in the near future and that

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after that it will be possible to evolve a satisfactory procedure for dealing with appointments of the type you mention.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

476

New Delhi
6 June 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will remember that I wrote to you before you left for the UK about appointments of Trade Commissioners made by the Commerce Department. I have now been informed that certain other appointments have been made by my honourable colleague, the Commerce Member, in keeping with the same spirit. Khan Bahadur Obeidullah, who was formerly Deputy Director-General (Disposals), drawing about Rs.2,000 per month, was appointed an additional member of the Tariff Board on a salary of about Rs.3,000. Somehow the need for a fourth member of the Tariff Board, after perhaps more than a year's working, was suddenly felt, and the appointment was made. Another Mr. Ikramullah, who was formerly in the Textile Commissioner's office getting about Rs.1,000 a month, was appointed as secretary to the Tariff Board on a remuneration of about Rs.1,800 per month.

2. I also understand that the place of Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty as Chairman of the Tariff Board is likely to go to a Muslim. Manoeuvres seem to be in progress to that end.

3. I need hardly say that appointments like these bring the administration into ridicule, and it is impossible at this stage to tolerate them any longer. I hope it will be possible to cancel such appointments and subject future appointments to Cabinet approval.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
7 June 1947

My dear Shankar,

H.E. asks me to acknowledge, with many thanks, the two letters from your Hon. Member about appointments made recently by the Muslim League Members of the Cabinet.

H.E. is not sending a personal reply because the whole question was discussed in Cabinet last night, and a sort of standstill agreement was accepted.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. Abell

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS

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New Delhi
11 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have seen the Cabinet Secretary's letter to departments impressing upon them the need of taking your approval to delegations proceeding abroad. I myself have been thinking of raising this question for some time and I am glad that the matter has already attracted your attention.

2. I have particularly noticed that there is a tendency to overman these delegations. The trade delegation, for instance, has as many as seven ICS officers and a large number of other members and staff. I understand that some other delegations are also in contemplation. I need hardly say that the sending out of such large delegations means not only an undue expenditure of money but also a waste of manpower and probably of foreign exchange. The country can ill afford to fritter away its resources in this manner. I, therefore, suggest that the question of sending out delegations and their composition should, in every case,

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come up to the Cabinet for approval. If you agree, perhaps, the matter could be taken up when the Cabinet meets next time.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
17 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 11 May about the need for obtaining approval to delegations proceeding abroad.

2. I have looked into the matter and I find that departmental machinery for considering the composition of delegations already exists under Cabinet Secretariat (Machinery of Government) Minute No. C3/MOG/2345 of 16 September 1946. If this machinery is used properly I think there should be no trouble about delegations being staffed on an unnecessarily extravagant scale, but I feel that it will probably be desirable for the Finance Department to be included in every meeting convened under the order I have quoted.

3. I intend to raise this matter at a Cabinet meeting when I return from London so that we can get this matter put on a proper basis.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

480

New Delhi
31 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please refer to your letter dated 17 May 1947 regarding the need for obtaining approval to delegations proceeding abroad.

2. I have looked up the Cabinet Secretariat memorandum cited by you. The memorandum deals only with the supply of

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officers for delegations abroad and does not deal with the composition of delegations as such. Further, it limits the initiative of the External Affairs Department to delegations which it is called upon to organise. It does not, therefore, cover delegations which other departments may have to organise.

3. In this connection I would invite your attention to the External Affairs Department D.O. dated 7 September 1946 under which foreign delegations have been divided into two categories, "General" and "Specialist." For the "General" category the External Affairs Department are not only the co-ordinating department but the operative department as well; for the "Specialist" category, the External Affairs Department are the co-ordinating department but in order that this co-ordination should function efficiently it has only to be kept in touch with important developments while the composition of the delegation is to be settled by the department itself.

4. If the above-mentioned two communications are read together, it is clear that in the case of all "Specialist" delegations the Cabinet Secretariat memorandum of 16 September 1946 is inapplicable. I myself feel that Cabinet approval should be obtained both for "General" and "Specialist" delegations and in the circumstances of the case, perhaps, the best thing would be to entrust the function of obtaining Cabinet approval to the External Affairs Department in respect of all delegations whether they are "General" or "Specialist."

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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16 Ultamount Road
Bombay
28 May 1947

Respected Shri Vallabhbhai,

I enclose herewith a copy of a telegram received by me from Johannesburg. You must be getting such news direct. Still I thought it proper to send you this one. I hope due to a change in Mussoorie both you and Maniben might have well improved in health.

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With pranams,

Yours sincerely,
Jivraj Mehta

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
(Original in Gujarati)

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Johannesburg
24 May 1947

Dr. Jivraj Mehta
Care Equality
Bombay

JOHANNESBURG RAND DAILY MAIL STATES AHMED ISMAIL (PRESIDENT SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS) HAS CABLED PANDIT NEHRU NAWABZADA LIAQUATALI KHAN MRS SAROJINI NAIDU[1] MRS VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT[2] AND FORMER AGENTS GENERAL SAYED RAZA ALI AND RAJA SIR MAHARAJ SINGH URGING "THAT UNDER THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE OBJECT OF LARGER DISCUSSIONS BE SEIZED AND THE HIGH COMMISSIONER BE REPOSTED." TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS AT ITS MOST REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE HELD MAY ELEVENTH PASSED [resolution] UNANIMOUSLY AND CONVEYED SAME RESPECTFULLY TO GOVERNMENT INDIA "THAT THE PREREQUISITE TO A ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE OR RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IS AT LEAST SUSPENSION OF GHETTO ACT WITH THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF ITS ENTIRE REPEAL." THIS RESOLUTION EXPRESSES FULLY STANDPOINT OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY NOT ONLY OF TRANSVAAL BUT OF NATAL AS WELL. NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS CONFERENCE MEETING NEXT WEEK. AHMED ISMAIL'S STATEMENT IS UNAUTHORISED BY SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS. AT PRESENT LEGAL PROCEEDINGS ARE PENDING AGAINST AHMED ISMAIL INTERDICTING SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS EXECUTIVE. IN THE MEANTIME HIS STATEMENT TO PRESS CAN AT BEST BE HIS PERSONAL VIEWS AND NOT OF INDIAN COMMUNITY. THEY

[1] Poet-politician; prominent woman member of Congress party; its President in 1925; Governor of UP

[2] Sister of Jawaharlal Nehru; Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, UP, 1937; was present in San Francisco at first meeting of UN and challenged the right of British-appointed delegation to speak for India; led Indian delegation to UN in 1946, 1947 and 1963; Ambassador to Russia, 1947-49, and to US, 1949-52; President of UN General Assembly 1953-54; High Commissioner in Britain and Ambassador to Spain and Ireland, 1954-61; Governor of Maharashtra; elected to Parliament in 1964

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ARE CERTAINLY NOT VIEWS OF NINETYNINE PERCENT INDIAN COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. SIMILARLY DELEGATION OF NATAL INDIAN ORGANISATION WHOSE MEMBERSHIP IS GIVEN BY THE SPONSORS AS ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY INTERVIEWED GENERAL SMUTS AND WITHOUT MANDATE OF THE PUBLIC OF NATAL URGED PRIME MINISTER "TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH INDIA." IT IS AT BEST THE OPINION OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MEMBERS. WE MAINTAIN THAT RETURN OF HIGH COMMISSIONER TO SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE PREREQUISITE TO ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE AS ONE OF THE QUESTIONS ROUNDTABLE CONFERENCE WILL HAVE TO DECIDE IS QUESTION OF RESTORATION DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS ON BASIS AS EXISTED BEFORE PASSING OF GHETTO ACT. WE HAVE FULLEST CONFIDENCE IN INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH OUR QUESTION IN CONSONANCE WITH SELFRESPECT OF INDIAN COMMUNITY OF UNION, MORE SO OF THE HONOUR OF INDIAN NATION PARTICULARLY NOT FORGETTING THE SACRIFICES OF OVER SEVENTEEN HUNDRED PASSIVE RESISTERS WHO ALREADY COURTED IMPRISONMENT AND SUFFERED SO ZEALOUSLY TO GUARD THEIRS AND INDIA'S PRESTIGE. STRUGGLE CONTINUES AND WILL CONTINUE UNTIL UNO DECISION IMPLEMENTED BY UNION GOVERNMENT.

SORABJEE RUSTOMJEE M A DINATH THAMBAI M A NAIDOO VICE PRESIDENTS DOCTOR VALLABHBHAI PATEL YUSUF CACHALIA JOINT HON SECRETARIES JASMAT NANABHAI J G VANDEYAR JOINT HON TREASURERS MOLVI CACHALIA NANA SITA ZINAB ASVAT MEMBERS TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS EXECUTIVE.

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Government House
Calcutta
27 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I hope you will forgive my writing on a subject which must have received your fullest consideration already and in connection with which I am somewhat worried over a corollary. I understand that besides posting Pakistan and India representatives at Delhi and Karachi respectively it is considered likely that Deputy High Commissioners may be appointed to function at provincial centres not only to do business on behalf of their respective Governments but with the definite idea of looking after the interests of minorities in the provinces to which they are attached. There can be no objection to representatives of an external Government doing consular work but to set up a focus for constant agitation

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on the part of minority groups may not be advisable. The appointment of permanent agencies to receive appeals and representations from minority groups would lead to the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere not very desirable in the present context. All our efforts should be in the direction of making the minority communities, both in Muslim and non-Muslim areas, depend on the Governments of the respective provinces more and more completely rather than on the interference of an external administration. The people in Bengal are settling down and the appointment of Deputy High Commissioners would be an influence in the opposite direction and tend to encourage appeals against the Ministries in office and the acts of the officials and soon become a source of irritation and misunderstanding.

I feel it would be best to content ourselves with representatives at the highest level and avoid parallel officials at lower centres if we desire to evolve more and more of territorial loyalty and discourage looking to relief from extra-territorial authorities.

The West Bengal Premier agrees with me fully and says he had not at first realised the implications of the proposed step. If it is not too late, I think it would be desirable to discourage the idea of appointing Deputy High Commissioners at provincial centres.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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(Undated)
Karachi

My dear Vallabhbhai,

As I shall be leaving India at the end of next month, I feel I must write to you and say goodbye and how glad I am that the dream for which you and others have fought and suffered for so long appear to have come true.

You know some of the reasons why, after over 32 years' service, I trust it is time that I should go, but often when I have heard the cry "Quit India" I have thought how absurd it all is. How can one ever "Quit India" when 32 years of one's life-work remains, with all its joy and sorrow; its happiness and tribulation. I may be thousands of miles away but I shall never "Quit India"

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to my dying day. I have never met Pandit Nehru but would you give him a message from me? Would you tell him I greatly admire his courage, sincerity and high purpose (as I admire yours) and I feel he cannot fail in his great task.

I am going to New Zealand and Australia for a lengthy stay on my way to England to visit my wife's relations.

If I can ever be of any service to you, or perhaps I should say to India, I am sure you will not hesitate to let me know.

I thought the enclosure[1] might entertain. I think it was spontaneous and sincere—it was obviously prepared in haste, it is rather an absurd but rather a touching document.

Well goodbye old friend, God bless you.

Yours ever sincerely,
Godfrey Davis

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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27 February 1947

My dear Davis,

I thank you for your letter received yesterday, which I read with mixed feelings of pleasure and pain.

Your letter reminded me of your surprise visit at my house when I was practising in Ahmedabad and you were posted as Assistant Collector there under Mr. Painter, the then Collector. Thirty-two long years have passed so quickly, and you are now leaving us at a time when we would be in need of sincere friends like you to help us in the gigantic task that faces us of rebuilding New India under extremely difficult circumstances.

You know "Quit India" never meant anything else than the transfer of power from British to Indian hands and the independence of India, which would give her an opportunity of making her own real contribution to the world.

Your parting makes me sad, but I know I can count upon you for help and goodwill from wherever you may be, and perhaps in these difficult times you may be able to help us more from England where there are still people who do not understand us properly.

I have conveyed your message to Jawaharlal Nehru, and he was pleased and was grateful to you for it. We wish to build

[1] The enclosure is an address to the Chief Justice of Sind (Godfrey Davis) by the Shikarpur Bar Association. It was a tribute to the man for his strict honesty, sincerity and for his qualities of head and heart.

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a bridge of friendship between our two countries, and individual real friendship can do a lot towards that end.

May you be happy wherever you are and may God bless you. Please do write to me occasionally.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sir Godfrey Davis
Bar-at-Law, ICS
Chief Court of Sind
Karachi

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C/o Mark Castle
Chelsfield
Eketahuna
New Zealand
7 May 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I know you must be engaged with many important questions but there is rather a tragic case in Karachi in which I thought you might be able to advise and help. One Marcel Levy, a Jewish refugee, applied for British naturalization and in his application he gave in answer to the question, the name of his son Helmut. The form did not say minor children and his son was over 21. He is now informed that while his own application will be considered, the case of his son cannot because he should have made a separate application; and it is now too late because of an order suspending the naturalization of foreigners as British subjects. The son has been admitted into the County Council School of Arts and Crafts in London and we cannot go or get a passport unless he is a British subject. The father is a skilled craftsman, has built up a splendid business in Karachi and is anxious his son should be properly trained. Would it be possible to treat the father's application as including the son and his son's application as bearing the date of the father's application? Or, is there any other way to remedy this unfortunate mistake? I will write again soon about other matters.

Yours ever sincerely,
Godfrey Davis

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
16 May 1947

My dear Davis,

Many thanks for your letters of 18 March and 7 May 1947. I am not surprised that you did not feel quite at home in the Mudie regime in Sind. Personally I feel that you should be happy to have left his domain. He is seldom guilty of consideration to those whom he does not like.

2. Regarding the case of the son of Marcel Levy, under the Act it is not possible to include major sons in the certificate of naturalization. Further, naturalization has been stopped until we have a nationality law of our own as there is considerable feeling in India against naturalization as British subjects in this country. But it is not necessary for the son to be naturalized to be able to leave for England. It would be possible for us to grant his son an identity certificate which is made valid for such journeys and is usually made use of in such cases. Hundreds of stateless Jews have been making use of these certificates for the purpose of travel abroad. I am asking my department to inform Mr. Levy accordingly so that there can be no delay.

3. We are all here engrossed in political discussions of which you must have had some inkling through the papers. We hope to know within a few weeks what the future shape of India is going to be. I only hope it will be something which would not impair Indo-British relationship.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir Godfrey Davis
C/o Mark Castle
Chelsfield
New Zealand

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New Delhi
30 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a draft telegram addressed to the Prime Minister, Pakistan, and a draft announcement to be made by us here. I have sent copies of these to the Governor-General. If these are agreed to, we can send them to Karachi tomorrow and at the same time hand them over to Liaquat Ali Khan who arrives in Delhi tomorrow morning.

I am also enclosing a copy of a long telegram received from Karachi and my draft reply to it.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

30 September 1947

From Foreign New Delhi
To Foreign Karachi
Repeated: Prime Minister Pakistan Lahore

FROM PRIME MINISTER INDIA TO PRIME MINISTER PAKISTAN. PLEASE REFER TO YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 28 SEPTEMBER. I SHALL NOT COMMENT UPON IT IN DETAIL, BUT WOULD LIMIT MYSELF TO TWO POINTS:

(i) IN PARAGRAPH 4 YOU SAY THAT A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UK AND OF THE DOMINIONS, INCLUDING INDIA AND PAKISTAN, MIGHT HELP TO DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF SECURING PEACE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. SINCE IN OUR JOINT STATEMENT OF 20 SEPTEMBER WE HAVE BOTH AGREED THAT THE VERY IDEA OF WAR BETWEEN THE TWO DOMINION GOVERNMENTS IS ABHORRENT MORALLY AND LIKELY TO PROVE RUINOUS TO BOTH, I DO NOT SEE HOW THE QUESTION OF A BREACH OF PEACE ARISES AS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE PROBLEM WHICH WE HAVE TO FACE IS MAINLY PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CAN HARDLY BE DEALT WITH BY PEOPLE, WHO, HOWEVER WELL-INTENTIONED, CAN

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IN THE VERY NATURE OF THINGS, EXERCISE LITTLE INFLUENCE ON MASS OPINION WHETHER HINDU, MUSLIM OR SIKH. IT IS A PROBLEM ESSENTIALLY TO BE DEALT WITH BY LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO DOMINIONS. INDIA AND PAKISTAN ALONE CAN SOLVE AND TO THAT END BEND ALL THEIR ENERGIES.

YOUR SUGGESTION THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF DEALING WITH THE PRESENT DISTURBANCES INVOLVES A CONSIDERABLE DELAY. A CONFERENCE OF THE KIND THAT YOU ENVISAGE WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO CONVENE AND OUR OTHER EFFORTS MIGHT THEREBY BE HALTED OR WEAKENED MEANWHILE. THE RESTORATION OF ORDER AND NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES IN BOTH DOMINIONS IS A PROBLEM OF SUCH URGENCY THAT ITS SOLUTION CAN BROOK NO DELAY.

IN PARAGRAPH 7 YOU SUGGEST THAT THE CONFERENCE WHICH YOU PROPOSE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF THE APPOINTMENT OF AN IMPARTIAL COMMISSION AND ITS PERSONNEL. THIS IS A NEW SUGGESTION AND I AM UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THE FUNCTIONS OF THIS COMMISSION WOULD BE. SUCH COMMISSIONS IN THE PAST HAVE TAKEN INORDINATE TIME AND ENDED WITHOUT PRODUCING ANY RESULTS.

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New Delhi
1 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 30 September 1947 enclosing a draft telegram and a draft announcement about Junagadh, and a telegram from Liaquat Ali Khan and a draft reply thereto. I returned from Amritsar last evening and saw your letter only this morning.

2. As regards Junagadh, I am having an alternative draft prepared and will send it to you as soon as it is ready. I do not think it will be possible to finalise it today.

3. As regards the correspondence with Liaquat Ali Khan, I feel that the matter is of great importance and should be discussed in the Cabinet. We, as individuals, can hardly take upon ourselves the burden of dealing with such an important inter-dominion matter. In any case, I feel that the draft does not meet the essential charges which Liaquat Ali Khan has made and any omission on our part to deal with those charges is liable to be misconstrued as a tacit admission thereof.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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5 Ridgway Road
Kettering
England
1 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have today written officially to say that I intend to take leave preparatory to retirement from May 1948. I have reached this decision after reading carefully the latest statements of HMG and the Viceroy—which I had not seen while on the ship—and after considering my own domestic circumstances. I need not conceal my dislike of the decision to divide India or my apprehensions of the possible consequences. But I should like to assure you that I should have been happy to continue to serve a non-Pakistan Government. Had my responsibilities in this country not appeared to me very urgent, I have served in India for 25 years and now feel that my son has a very strong call upon me for 5 years of paramount importance to him.

For most of my service, I have worked under Indian superiors, from whom I have received the greatest kindness and most valuable instruction and guidance. Recognising this debt I owe to them and to India I have reached my decision with great regret, but I am sure that it is the only possible one. For the short remaining period of my service I shall endeavour to do my best in any department which you may think suitable.

Yours sincerely,
G. S. Bozman[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
11 July 1947

My dear Bozman,

Thank you for your letter of 1 July 1947.

2. I am sorry to hear that your domestic circumstances make it incumbent on you to ask for leave preparatory to retirement. It

[1] ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1947

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is a pity that India should lose the services of an able officer like you.

3. I fully appreciate your reasons for disliking the decision to divide India. Frankly speaking, we all hate it, but at the same time see no way out of it. We nurse the hope that one day Pakistan will come back to us.

4. I hope you are having a pleasant holiday. Here we are all preoccupied with partition. When you return in November you may find things quite different in several respects.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

G. S. Bozman Esqr., CSI, CIE, ICS
5 Ridgway Road
Kettering
England

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23 July 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Lord Ismay brought a letter from Prime Minister Attlee to me. I enclose a copy.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

10 Downing Street
Whitehall
17 July 1947

My dear Nehru,

I was glad to see Krishna Menon and to know that you propose that he should be High Commissioner here. He has, of course, many friends over here, and knows the political position very well.

I discussed with him a suggested amendment to the clause in the Bill about the States, but with the best of goodwill could not accept what was proposed, as it would not in fact have affected what was desired and might have created a false impression. The Bill passed both Houses this week

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without any division. All speakers in the Commons, and all but two unimportant Peers gave it warm support and expressed most cordial good wishes for the success of the new Governments.

I have admired the statesmanship and courage of yourself and Patel. Our warm good wishes go with you in your heavy responsibilities, the weight of which I am in a position to appreciate.

I was very grateful to you for your help over the matter of steel rails for Russia. I am hopeful of getting something useful in the way of trade in that quarter.

I am a little anxious over the position in Burma. I like Aung San[1] and his colleagues very much, but of course they have not the same resources of experienced personnel as you have in India. I am a little afraid of their feeling obliged to go ahead and take over before they have got an adequate machine of government. They would, I think, be well advised to remain in the Commonwealth, at any rate for a period, as we could more easily help them to deal with these problems of defence and finance which are not very easy. I think, however, that they find it difficult to deal with their left wing, who have very little knowledge of anything outside their own rather narrow range of experience.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
C. R. Attlee

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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Government House
Bombay
3 December 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I did not get an opportunity of saying goodbye at V.P.'s party and I am therefore writing to thank you very much for all your kindness to me during these last eight months, and to give you my best wishes for the future.

If I can even be of any service to you or India when I arrive in England, I hope you will not hesitate to command me.

Sincerely yours,
Ismay

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] Prime Minister of Burma, 1946. He was assassinated two days after Attlee wrote this letter to Nehru

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New Delhi
19 December 1947

My dear Lord Ismay,

I am most grateful to you for your letter sent from Bombay and much appreciate the kind thought which prompted you to send it.

As you know, our country has been the victim of misrepresentation for years in the past. We thought that after India attained her independence, past controversies would cease and men prominent in public life in England would forget their past opposition to India's freedom and reconcile themselves to an attitude of friendship and goodwill, but I regret to find that our former opponents, including your old Chief, still harp upon the same old tune wherever they get an opportunity to fling mud at us. This is all the more regrettable since, I make bold to say, no other people and no other country in the world could have forgotten and forgiven the bitterness of years so easily as we have done. It was as if overnight we buried the past and entered upon an entirely new relationship with your people. You have yourself seen how that friendship and goodwill burst forth when the psychological opportunity came on 15 August. It is now for your statesmen and your country to capitalise that friendship and that goodwill and not to let these be smothered by old controversies in their new form.

You have been singularly fortunate (and I somehow feel in that circumstance India has also been lucky) that you came to India with Lord Mountbatten and thereby were enabled to see at close quarters how India reacted to the final gesture which your people made to us. You have also seen how we faced perhaps the most difficult task that was ever set to any country's Government. You have also witnessed the manner in which the country as a whole and the administration have accustomed themselves to the great and vital change from foreign rule to self-government. It is now for you to convince your old Chief whether you have had to deal here with men of straw or with men of substance. I am sure, if you could succeed in doing something to remove such misapprehensions as exist among the Conservative

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Party, and particularly its gifted leader, about men and affairs in India, you would be rendering a signal service not only to this country but also to your own; for I genuinely feel that in the continued friendship and goodwill between our two countries lie the interests of both.

I should also like to say how much I have enjoyed the occasions whenever social or official engagements have brought both of us together. Your frank and straightforward manner of presenting views which you sincerely held was always welcome to us and we felt that your advice had the weight of experience of men and things which is a rare asset, particularly in the critical times through which we have passed. I, therefore, send my best wishes to you with all my heart and hope that whenever you feel like having a holiday you would not forget that a warm welcome awaits you.

With best wishes for Christmas and the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

General Lord Ismay
10 Lawndes Court
Lawndes Square
London S.W. 1

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New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I feel that at the forthcoming wedding of Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth, India should be officially represented. Since Lord Mountbatten would himself be present in London, I feel that he would be the best choice. I am sure he would also appreciate this gesture, and at the present juncture, such a move would be both tactically and politically wise. If you agree, I suggest that you may formally request Lord Mountbatten to do so and inform Mr. Attlee or whoever may be the appropriate authority in the United Kingdom.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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9 November 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have pleasure in informing you that the Government of India have decided to request you and our High Commissioner in London, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, to represent the Government and people of India at the wedding of Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten. We shall be grateful if you will discharge this pleasant duty on our behalf.

The Government of India desire to send on this occasion to Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten some examples of Indian craftsmanship as tokens of their affection and good wishes. We shall be grateful to you if you will kindly take these with you and deliver them to Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Mountbatten.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

His Excellency Rear Admiral the Earl
Mountbatten of Burma

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Government House
New Delhi
9 November 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter dated 9 November 1947. It is indeed a great honour to be asked, together with Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, to represent the Government and people of India at the wedding of Her Royal Highness Princess Elizabeth with my nephew. I should be very grateful if you would inform your Cabinet how pleased and honoured I am to discharge such a pleasant duty on behalf of the people of India.

I shall be delighted to take home with me the wedding presents from the Government of India.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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100 Elmswood Road
Liverpool 17
England
13 December 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I hope that this will arrive some time about Christmas when it can bring you very good wishes for that season and for next year.

Your parting prophesy that things would be very different when I returned (as was then the intention) in November has been startingly fulfilled and the pace has been so rapid that I for one have not been able quite to keep up with the changes which have taken place. But I do know that there must be difficult problems to be solved and I should like to assure you of my goodwill and of my best wishes for yourself personally and for your colleagues in dealing with those problems. There is a great fund of goodwill in the United Kingdom for the new India.

Since I came back to England I have spent my time making the acquaintance of my family now almost grown up in my absence in India! The classical stages of life according to the Indian scriptures have got rather mixed up in my case and I feel that it is a little late to be settling down to fulfil the dharma of a grihasta.

If you have time and would write I should much value anything that you cared to tell me about the progress of events and the prospects ahead: I always appreciated the frankness with which you let me speak to you and with which you spoke to me from time to time when I was serving you.

Please give my compliments and good wishes to Miss Patel. It would be kind if you would remember me to those of your colleagues whom I knew.

With very good wishes to yourself,

Yours sincerely,
A. E. Porter

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
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New Delhi
19 December 1947

My dear Porter,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 December 1947 and for the good wishes for Christmas and New Year which I very warmly reciprocate.

Yes, many things, some almost cataclysmic, have happened since you left India but thank God we have survived the storm and have turned the corner. At one time it seemed that we would be completely overwhelmed but the people stood firm and four-square and we managed to hold them together. We are now settling down and hope shortly to take up the threads of rehabilitation and reconstruction which seemed almost to have snapped.

The disturbances in the Punjab did not come as a surprise to me. The poison of hate spread by the League had its inevitable reaction. The cleavage between the two communities had become wider and wider ever since the policy of the Conservative Government had put a premium on intransigence and obstinacy. We had hoped that the shock of freedom would evoke a healthy reaction. It was a risk and a grave risk, but we felt—and I think rightly so —that that risk was worth taking, since the stakes were freedom and domination.

I had also hoped that the partition would be throughout regarded as a friendly and brotherly arrangement giving scope for all communities in both the dominions to seek their own salvation and their own prosperity, but, unfortunately, elements which meant differently asserted themselves almost all over Western Pakistan and lawlessness overtook Eastern Punjab. This engendered suspicions, bitterness and ill-will with the result that the relations between the two dominions became strained almost to a breaking point. Junagadh and Kashmir provided further bones of contention which increased estrangement. Events in Junagadh fortunately followed a different course from those in Kashmir, but the Kashmir sore is still running. Unless the Pakistan Government have the courage to disown the elements who have replaced the rule of law by the rule of brute force and are bent

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upon forcing a decision to their way of thinking, I feel that the situation is full of dangerous possibilities. I have no doubt myself that if the requisite spirit of accommodation and boldness to face facts were forthcoming, this outstanding point between the two dominions would be satisfactorily resolved and both of us would be enabled to settle down in peace to the many tasks of reconstruction which await us. I have never spared myself in explaining to the people here and abroad that we genuinely mean friendship and prosperity for the new State of Pakistan and that we ourselves do not wish to force a union, though true to our convictions we feel that a union is inevitable. On the other hand, we would welcome a friendly reunion whenever there is a genuine desire amongst our brethren in Pakistan to return to us.

I am glad to know that you have settled down to a real family life after years of separation. For a civil servant, public service becomes his dharma almost to the exclusion of his other duties and it is in this self-sacrifice and discharge of his solemn obligation lies his merit. Through centuries of colonial administration the British have acquired the knack of discharging this dharma and actually in your case you have settled down earlier than most of your predecessors ever did or hoped to do.

I am glad to know that there is a great fund of goodwill for us in the United Kingdom. I feel that such friendship and goodwill is necessary in the common interests of both India and Great Britain. I only hope that the former opponents of India's freedom would now forget past controversies and react to India's freedom in the same spirit in which India replaced as though overnight the bitterness of years of struggle with genuine feelings of cordiality and friendliness.

With every good wish from Maniben and myself to you and your family for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

A. E. Porter, Esq.
100 Elmswood Road
Liverpool 17
England

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New Delhi
16 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

A correspondent of mine tells me that the 99-year lease of Mount Abu, which was administered by the Government of India up to 1937 and since then by the Crown Representative, is due to expire next year and there is a proposal afoot to hand it back to Sirohi State. It would be a great pity to retrocede an area which has enjoyed the benefits of British Indian administration to an Indian State. In the past proposals to hand over British Indian-administered territories to Indian States have met with vehement opposition from the local population. This one, I have no doubt, will meet with a similar fate. I feel that it is an entirely wrong attitude of mind to hand over such bits of jurisdiction merely because paramountcy is lapsing and the British Government is quitting. Instead, I feel that attempts should be made to keep such territories under the jurisdiction of the Central Government by a special agreement and the Political Department should actively promote the conclusion of such agreements.

2. I had a brief and informal discussion with the Political Secretary last night and I understood from him that there was some substance in the report which I had received. If so, I feel in all such matters the Government of India should be consulted so that it may decide in each case whether anything requires to be done to continue to retain jurisdiction under separate agreements.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
30 May 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I am replying to your letter dated 16 May 1947 to Lord Mountbatten regarding the retrocession of Abu.

2. You suggest that it would be wise to keep administered areas in Indian States under the jurisdiction of the Central Government by a special agreement. I think I should first explain that the term 'British Indian-administered territories', if used to describe administered areas in Indian States, is misleading. Until 1 April 1937 when the Government of India Act 1935 came into force, these areas were administered by the Governor-General-in-Council as the agent of the paramount power. Since then they have been administered by the Crown Representative, who succeeded to the powers of paramountcy formerly exercised by the Government of India. They are integral parts of the States concerned and on the lapse of paramountcy any rights therein surrendered by a State automatically revert to that State in accordance with the clear terms of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12 May 1946. It would therefore be improper for the Crown Representative actively to promote such a change as you suggest.

3. In the case of Abu, which is still an integral part of Sirohi State territory, I understand that a request is likely to be preferred shortly by the Darbar for retrocession of the surrendered rights of jurisdiction in advance of the lapse of paramountcy. The only justification for retaining jurisdiction over Abu lies in the fact that it is the headquarters of the Resident for Rajputana and his establishment, and since the Residency will be abolished before long, it is advisable that arrangements for retrocession should be made in advance of the Resident's departure, while he is still able to supervise the arrangements and to ensure that no inconvenience results to the inhabitants and that the transfer takes place in an orderly manner.

4. With regard to the suggestion that the Central Government should be consulted, I should explain that where specific all-

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India interests are involved, e.g. defence or communications, the Political Department are scrupulous about consulting the departments concerned of the Central Government in respect of proposals to retrocede jurisdiction in advance of its automatic reversion with the lapse of paramountcy. For example, the question of retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands was referred several months ago to a number of such departments, including the Home Department. Abu, as you know, is a very small area, where these interests do not arise. In fact, however, a reference was made to the Defence Department of the Central Government since they own certain property there.

Yours sincerely,
John Colville

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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CHAPTER XIV

ARMED FORCES RECONSTITUTION

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Chief of the General Staff India
New Delhi
17 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Reference the committee meeting held at the Viceroy's House yesterday evening.

The undermentioned officers will be ready to discuss with you the list of names of non-Muslim officers recommended by the Commander-in-Chief as suitable to serve on the sub-committees of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee:

RIN Vice-Admiral Sir Geoffrey Miles, C-in-C., RIN
ARMY Major-General H. R. Swinburn, Military Secretary
RIAF Air Marshal H. Walmsley, AOC-in-C.

The above officers will be ready to discuss with you on Thursday, 19 June 1947.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur Smith

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member

502

New Delhi
17 June 1947

Dear Sir Arthur Smith,

Thank you for your letter dated 17 June 1947 regarding non-Muslim officers for sub-committees of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee.

I should be glad to meet the officers mentioned by you at 10.30 a.m. on Thursday, 19 June at my house (1 Aurangzeb Road).

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The Hon'ble the Food Member will also be present. Could you please confirm that the time is all right?

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. General Sir Arthur Smith
KCB, KBE, DSO, MC
Chief of the General Staff, India
New Delhi

503

New Delhi
18 June 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 17 June regarding the selection of Indian officers to serve on the sub-committees of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee.

10.30 a.m. tomorrow at 1 Aurangzeb Road will be convenient for Admiral Miles, General Swinburn and Air Marshal Walmsley to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur Smith

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member

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New Delhi
26 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am not very happy at the way discussions are going on about the reconstitution of the Armed Forces; there appears to me to be an organised attempt to delay matters as much as possible and also a move to throw the blame for it on Members of the Indian Union. The time has come when we must be prepared to take definite decisions.

Reconstitution of the Armed Forces cannot make any progress unless the basis on which the division can proceed is known. I find a decision on this point being unnecessarily postponed. At

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this morning's meeting, I raised it several times and was anxious to get clear instructions issued to the Commander-in-Chief but the matter was not finally decided. In the last meeting of the C-in-C's Committee Mr. Mohammed Ali, Military Financial Adviser, raised objection to the issue of a questionnaire to Army personnel to ascertain which Dominion Forces they desire to join. I cannot understand why he should object to the questionnaire. The present officers and men in the Armed Forces were recruited on a voluntary basis. The leaders have agreed in principle that they cannot coerce anyone to serve in one Union or the other against his will. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that the questionnaire is issued without delay. A fortnight's time might be allowed for the reply.

The Commander-in-Chief has been talking of making up an efficient army for both the Dominions. If, as I am sure, a sufficient number of officers and men do not want to serve in the Pakistan Dominion, why should we suffer and delay the progress on our side? As we will be getting a large number of officers and men, it will perhaps not be necessary for us to employ more than a few British officers. Replies to the questionnaire, when received, will solve one of our greatest difficulties as we will then know what personnel we are going to get and what officers and men will go to the Pakistan side. It will then be also easy to decide the division of arms and equipment, assets and liabilities. In the next meeting of the Partition Committee, therefore, instructions should be given to the Commander-in-Chief for the issue of such a questionnaire and it should also be made clear that a date must be fixed by which the reply should come in.

This morning I also raised the question of enquiring from the British officers which Dominion they would like to serve. Both the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief were against the proposal and their opinion seemed to be that British officers are absolutely neutral. I know for certain that some of the British officers are definitely League-minded. There may be a number who are fair-minded, but I have yet to come across any who has sympathy with the Indian Union. There is a large number of British officers, about 9,000, scattered all over the country, and the only way to find out which way their mind is working is to send them also the above questionnaire. It is in our interests to keep only such people as bear no prejudice against us. I do not therefore agree with the views of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief that the division of these British officers should be left entirely to them.

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I would be glad if you will kindly give your serious consideration to the points raised above. [See Appendix]

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

505

New Delhi
9 July 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I find from your letter of 8 July 1947 received last night that certain decisions of the Armed Forces Reconstruction Committee regarding the allocation of armoured corps and infantry units as between the armies of India and Pakistan have to be released for publication on Thursday evening. It appears that the decisions of the Armed Forces Reconstruction Committee are final and we are only given the information about the time when they will be published. I do not understand the effect of the proposed allocation and have been under the impression that decisions will be taken by the Partition Council and the various committees will only make recommendations. We must get this point cleared.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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From
Major General S. F. Irwin, CB, CBE

Armed Forces Reconstitution
Committee
Army Sub Committee
New Delhi
11 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I would like to express my appreciation of the very patient hearing and courtesy extended to me yesterday by you and the other distinguished leaders at your house.

I hope that if at any time you require elucidation of our recommendations before the Partition Council you will not hesitate to summon me or the appropriate members of my committee.

Yours sincerely,
Stephen Irwin

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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My dear General,

Thank you for your letter of 11 July 1947.

2. We on our part fully appreciated the good work done by your committee and the full and frank manner in which you placed all the relevant information at our disposal. We shall not hesitate to trouble you again if we consider your assistance necessary in any future discussions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major General S. F. Irwin, CB, CBE
New Delhi

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New Delhi
2 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

The composition of the Joint Defence Council, in our opinion, requires some reconsideration. Originally, when it was decided that it should consist of a Governor-General or Governors-General, two Defence Members and the Supreme Commander, the general impression was that there would be only one Governor-General and, therefore, there was no question of unequal representation of India and Pakistan. Now, if the original composition is adhered to, you would be its independent Chairman while Pakistan would be represented both by its Governor-General and its Defence Member. As against this, India would be represented only by the Defence Member. This difference is further accentuated by the attitude recently displayed by the Commander-in-Chief about which Jawaharlal has already written to you.

We feel, therefore, that the representation of India on the Joint Defence Council should be further strengthened by the addition of another Minister. We fully realise that it would be possible for the Defence Minister to bring with him another colleague to assist him in the deliberations of the Joint Defence Council. You will doubtless concede that this is not the same thing as having another Minister with full membership rights. On the other hand, the addition of one representative will restore the balance between the two Dominions and should not matter to the Pakistan Government since there is no question of majority decisions.

We should be grateful if you would give this matter early consideration so that it could be put before the Partition Council either today or at its next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 December 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I notice that at this morning's session of the Joint Defence Council, the question of joint defence against external aggression is set down for discussion.

I feel that we should make it clear that this is a matter which must be tackled between two Governments and should not be taken up by the Joint Defence Council which was not constituted for this purpose. In any case, the matter is one which should first engage the attention of the two Cabinets rather than that of the Joint Defence Council.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

1 The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
2 The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh

510

New Delhi
1 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am enclosing in original a letter which I have received from Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Sardar Swaran Singh. I understood from you that the question of defence of the frontier was engaging the attention of the Commander-in-Chief. I feel that the Sikhs and Hindus of the East Punjab are very considerably, and for good reasons, exercised over this problem and we should take immediate action to allay their anxiety. The matter, as far as I see, can brook no delay. I hear that the Pakistan Government have made arrangements to settle Frontier Pathans within a belt of the territory near the Indian border. This in itself shows that we should be extremely vigilant. If necessary, you can seek early orders of the Cabinet on this problem.

2. In the meantime, the Provincial Government is organising a National Volunteer Corps and a sort of local militia. In the

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public meeting at Amritsar I myself made it clear that the Central Government would not hesitate to supply arms if people knew how to utilise them on the right lines. I feel that there is no getting away from ensuring local co-operation in the defence of the frontier and the only way to do so is in the first place to give the reliable element of this population the means to defend themselves and to demonstrate to them that we are making the necessary preparations.

3. I should be grateful if you would let me know as soon as possible what action is being taken.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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New Delhi
3 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 1 October 1947 with which you have sent a copy of a joint letter from Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Sardar Swaran Singh about our frontier defence. I received the same joint letter a few days ago. The Governor of the East Punjab has also written to me in this connection. For your information I am enclosing copies of my communications to the Commander-in-Chief in the matter. The problem is already under examination and I will let you know, in the near future, the steps that are being taken.

As regards para 2 of your letter, some rifles have already been distributed by the East Punjab Government in the frontier villages to people who know how to handle them. The East Punjab Government had asked for 5,000 rifles but later they increased the number on my suggestion, and they have already been supplied 10,000. In addition, we have sent them 400 Sten-guns, 200 pistols, and 24 trucks. The distribution of arms has been left entirely in the hands of the East Punjab Government.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
7 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

When Pandit Ravishankar Shukla was here, he asked me to take up with you the question of the Muslim element in the Special Army Constabulary, which has been assigned by the Provincial Government to guard vulnerable points in the CP, and for which the Defence Ministry is making payment. I understand that there is a similar arrangement in the UP, and I had a discussion with Pantji yesterday, who said that if he received instructions from us that the Muslim element should be disarmed and replaced by non-Muslim element, he would have no objection.

I feel that the danger from the Muslim element of this constabulary, particularly since it guards vital points like railways and bridges, is real, and the sooner we issue instructions to Provincial Governments to take action for disarming the Muslim element, the better. I hope you will take appropriate action at a very early date.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

513

New Delhi
13 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Kindly refer to your d.o. of 7 October 1947 regarding the elimination of the Muslim element from the Special Armed Constabulary. I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I have issued in this connection to all Provincial Premiers from the Ministry of Defence.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

Ministry of Defence
New Delhi
13 October 1947

Subject:- Special Armed Constabulary

It has been represented to the Government of India by some Provincial Governments that the Muslim element in the Special Armed Constabulary constitutes a real danger specially as it guards vital points like railways, bridges and military installations. It has also been suggested that the Government of India should issue instructions to Provincial Governments to take action for disarming the Muslim element.

2. In this connection, I would invite your attention to this Ministry's letter dated 28 March 1947 (copy enclosed for easy reference) from which it will be clear that the administrative control, including recruitment and class composition of the Special Armed Constabulary, vests in the Provincial Governments and, therefore, it is really a matter for them to decide in each case on its merits whether the Muslims employed in these battalions should be disarmed and replaced by non-Muslim elements. As the Provincial Governments are the best judge, we will accept any steps considered necessary by them in this direction.

Baldev Singh

Government of India
Defence Dept.
(Army Branch)
New Delhi
28 March 1947

To
All Provincial Governments and Administrations
Special Armed Constabulary, Additional Police–Railway Protection Police, Directions and Control

Sir,

The Special Armed Constabulary were raised, at the request of the Army, by the provinces. They are administratively controlled by the respective Provincial Governments but operationally controlled by the Army. As they are employed exclusively on military tasks viz. guarding of Defence Department railway lines and military installations, the Provincial Governments are reimbursed

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their cost from Defence Services Estimates. They may, at the request of the civil authority, and with the concurrence of the local military authority, be taken off their specific military task and allotted for armed assistance of the civil police. When thus employed they cease to be a liability against Defence Services Estimates.

2. When Defence Department railway lines are downgraded to "provincial" category or when military installations, guarded [by the] Special Armed Constabulary, are closed down, the Special Armed Constabulary employed on the tasks revert to provincial control. Whenever such decisions are anticipated the Provincial Governments concerned are given ample warning so that arrangements can be made to absorb these trained personnel of the SAC into the Provincial Police cadre or otherwise dispose of them. When SAC revert to provincial control they cease to be a liability against Defence Services Estimates. (In the following, wherever the term "Special Armed Constabulary" is used it refers to SAC, Additional Police or Railway Protection Police in accordance with the nomenclature existing in the province.)

I am sir,
Yours most obedient servant,
R. Milroy Hayes, W/Comdr.
Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of India

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New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Sardar,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to Baldev Singh for your personal information.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Baldev,

I enclose a note prepared by the Chief Commissioner of Railways regarding certain movements of military stores and personnel. The whole position, to my mind, is disturbing and calls for your personal attention. We are doing what we can to counter movements of a doubtful character, but there is obviously a limit to what we can do to prevent them.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS
(RAILWAY BOARD)

FOLLOWING INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE CHIEF TRANSPORTATION SUPERINTENDENT, GIP RAILWAY

A British officer of the name of Brig. Lickman is in command at Jubbulpore. A number of British officers under his command have recently been leaving Jubbulpore either on transfer to Pakistan or on leave to stations in Pakistan, and there are reasons to believe that some of these officers carry in their baggage arms and ordnance stores. Information in a private manner is being given to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, CP. That officer's name is Mr. Saxena, and it will be left to him to take such action as the civil police choose to examine whether any arms are being smuggled out of Jubbulpore.

2. Plans of Brig. Lickman were under way to order four special goods trains to carry ordnance stores towards Bombay. It was his intention that these specials should terminate at Kalyan and that the ordnance stores would be taken to Bombay by road in military motor transport for shipment ex that port.

3. The special trains contemplated would have been ordered by MILRAIL, which is under the Supreme Command. Recently at a meeting over which the Defence Secretary (Mr. Bhalja) presided, the QMG (India) expressed his inability to take over movement control owing to paucity of officers; that branch of the military transportation side is therefore not under the C-in-C, India, but under the Supreme Commander.

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4. The Chief Transportation Superintendent, GIP Railway, has so arranged his train operations as to make it possible to resist MILRAIL's demand for these special trains, should such a demand be made.

5. It has also been reported that a large number of Muslims from the Agra and Gwalior side were making use of the GIP Railway's Express train (198 Up) to take them to Bhopal and for the South. Owing to the GIP Railway having been called upon to produce coaching stock for refugee trains in East Punjab, the Chief Transportation Superintendent, GIP Railway, has arranged for the Expresses (197 Down and 198 Up) to terminate and start from Jhansi.

6. A number of Muslims have recently reached Bhopal and Bhopal State are very keen in getting these men out of their territory and into the Nizam's territory. A request was made to the GIP Railway for a special train from Bhopal to Hyderabad. This has been refused on the grounds that movements of refugees are controlled by Delhi and orders of the Railway Board are necessary before any such trains can be run.

7. The CP Government do not wish to encourage migration from the Central Provinces to Hyderabad, but even so, many Muslims from the CP find their way to Manmad, which is the metre gauge terminal station of the NS Railway. From Manmad, the NS Railway has been running a number of special trains into the Nizam's territory, which is only two stations away from Manmad.

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New Delhi
15 October 1947

My dear Dr. Matthai,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th instant.

I need hardly say how much I appreciate the action taken by the Ministry of Railways, and fully realise that the Railways can only delay and obstruct indirectly, but cannot altogether prevent ramps of this kind.

I wonder if it will be possible somehow to convey to the officers concerned our appreciation of the action taken by them. This will encourage them in the discharge of their duties to the country.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Railways
New Delhi

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Council Hall
Poona
16 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I send you herewith a copy of a report which has been submitted to me as regards taking away and bringing of arms by the military personnel and refugees. You will see that those who have to come into the Indian Union are systematically searched and even the military personnel leaving Pakistan is not allowed to bring arms into the Indian Union area. On the other hand, we are not supposed to search people going out, and reports have been received that they regularly take out arms and ammunitions. I send herewith two reports, both of them secret, which will show what our information is. I think we must take some action to prevent this kind of thing. I am sending a copy of this to the Defence Minister and also to the Prime Minister for information. I am sure you will be able to take what action is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
25 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am sending herewith in original some material regarding traffic in illicit arms and ammunitions, particularly through Pakistan military personnel, which I have received from the Prime Minister of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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Barnes Court
Simla
5 November 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I have sent today to the Defence Minister.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. Trivedi
[Governor of East Punjab]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

5 November 1947

My dear Sardar Baldev Singh,

As you have doubtless heard, the Governor-General, Pakistan, has promulgated an ordinance providing for the establishment of a Pakistan National Guard. In case you do not have the details, I enclose an extract from the Pakistan Bulletin (Lahore Radio Station) of 3 November. So far as I can see, the ordinance is mainly based on the Indian Territorial Force Act, 1920. The scheme of that Act was (a) the constitution of provincial corps or units of the Indian Territorial Force, (b) the constitution of urban corps or units of the Indian Territorial Force and (c) the constitution of University Training Corps. At the beginning of the war the provincial battalions of the Indian Territorial Force were amalgamated with regular forces with the result that there are no provincial corps or units of the Indian Territorial Force. There are at present a certain number of urban units of the ITF but, they were never very live and the military authorities in the past looked askance at them. There were several reasons why the urban units were not satisfactory, but I do not wish to go into this in this letter. University or Officers' Training Corps do, of course, exist. Some of them are quite good while a good few are not very effective. East Punjab being a new province does not have at present any Officers' Training Corps.

2. The territorial forces were supposed to be a second line of defence. The relations between India and Pakistan are deteriorating and, although we may

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hope that there will be no war, it would be well to be ready for defence. I do not know what the present strength of the Indian Army is or whether it is proposed to resume demobilisation. The question of demobilisation is, I am sure, being considered and I am certain that all relevant factors will be taken into account in reaching a decision whether demobilisation should be resumed or not. The general feeling here is that it would be unwise to restart demobilisation except for units which may be superfluous, having no role to perform.

3. There is a very great urge, at least in East Punjab, for some form of military training. There is also a great deal of readiness on the part of the youth to play their part adequately in the defence and security of the Indian Dominion. A second line defence force would appear to be the answer. I would suggest that we start with urban units in various towns of East Punjab. I do not know whether it would be advisable to constitute provincial units of the Indian Territorial Force. Men for these units were drawn from rural areas and it was after a great deal of consideration that the military authorities decided to amalgamate provincial battalions with regular forces. This question might, however, be considered.

4. We certainly want an Officers' Training Corps in East Punjab. We have lately established a university. What the strength of the corps should be I am unable to say at present, because I have not had an opportunity to discuss these things with the Director of Public Instruction or anybody else. I will let you know my ideas in detail a little later. What I do want is the establishment of an Officers' Training Corps.

5. The object of this letter is merely to throw up certain suggestions in the present state of emergency. So far as I can see, we do not want any ordinance. The Indian Territorial Force Act provides us with the necessary legislative basis for constituting an organisation not identical with but similar to the proposed Pakistan National Guard.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. Trivedi

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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New Delhi
9 November 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I have received from Trivedi a copy of his letter dated 5 November 1947 regarding the Pakistan ordinance for the establishment of a National Guard. I agree with him that we should have a territorial organisation. It should be easy, particularly if no further legislation is required. It would also canalise in a desirable channel the urge of the people to render service to us in this time of emergency and would convince them that we mean business and that we are doing something to protect the country. I would, therefore, suggest that you might take this matter up at the next meeting of the Defence Committee. In the meantime, perhaps your experts can examine the question and prepare a scheme.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I enclose a copy of a letter issued by the Defence Ministry of the Government of Pakistan to the Supreme Headquarters, New Delhi. The possibility of the military moves in Waziristan being used as a pretext for getting ammunition and explosives cannot be ruled out, but even if the information is true, we are certainly interested to know what exactly is the trouble in Waziristan for which this is needed and whether the despatch of ammunition and explosives would prejudicially affect our interest.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

Government of Pakistan
Ministry of Defence
Karachi
20 October 1947

To
The Supreme Headquarters
New Delhi

The Royal Pakistan Air Force has no backing of explosives and ammunition to carry out its training or any possible operations that may be necessary on the Frontier. In view of the fact that we are about to undertake certain military moves in Waziristan, the necessity of being well prepared for air action when required cannot be over-emphasised. This Ministry requests urgent action for the move of explosives and ammunition from Kasu Bagu which is just on the Indian side of the Punjab frontier to Pakistan.

Iskandar Mirza
Secretary to the Government
of Pakistan

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New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I received some days ago a copy of the letter referred to in yours of even date. Necessary action is being taken in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
9 November 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

You remember we discussed yesterday the question of the impounding of 26 Dakota aircraft by the Pakistan Government. Although Air Marshal Elmhurst says that in the meantime the transfer of Dakota aircraft from India to Pakistan is being held over, I understand from a very reliable source that on the pretext of getting supplies etc. the same aircraft are being flown from Bangalore to Karachi, the pilots returned saying that the aircraft had been impounded. If true, this is a most astonishing proceeding and I feel that we must devise adequate protection against it. In this connection, it is relevant to point out that we have had several complaints against Mr. Tyrrell of the Hindustan Aircraft Limited and some other European members of the Hindustan Aircraft Company. One particular instance brought to my notice was that Mr. Tyrrell took a Hindustan Aircraft aeroplane from Delhi to Pakistan with some high placed persons as refugees and brought to Delhi some heavy packages intended apparently for distribution amongst the Muslims here. Whatever the effects may be, the flight itself is vouched for by the crew of the aircraft in question and apparently that flight was not arranged on the business of the company.

2. My purpose in mentioning these instances is merely to emphasise the need for urgent and effective action to see that on no pretext whatsoever and in no circumstances does any aircraft go from the Hindustan Aircraft Limited, Bangalore, to Karachi. Unless we do that, we might risk further impounding of Dakotas.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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New Delhi
16 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

General Bucher has sent to me a copy of the message which Mr. Jinnah has issued to all British officers under the Supreme Commander. I feel that you should also send a message to British officers. General Bucher has sent a draft which I enclose. I feel the draft is generally suitable, but perhaps something may be added to bring out that in spite of India's independence and the policy of complete nationalisation a field exists in which British personnel can be of assistance to us in building up our strength and in full utilisation of our resources. He sent me this copy and the draft message when you were at Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

New Delhi
11 November 1947

Lieut. General F. R. R. Bucher
Commander-in-Chief
Army Headquarters, India

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

1. I enclose:

(i) A copy of a message from H.E. the Governor-General of Pakistan, which is being given publicity, to all British officers under the Supreme Commander.

(ii) A draft which the Hon'ble the Prime Minister might care to consider as a framework for a similar message.

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2. Immediately any approved message is returned to me, I will at once ensure it is given the identical distribution to that of H.E. the Governor-General of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
Roy Bucher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister

ENCLOSURE II

MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN TO ALL BRITISH OFFICERS SERVING UNDER THE SUPREME COMMANDER

The terms for British officers who volunteer to serve on in the Pakistan Armed Forces after the closing down of Supreme Command Headquarters will shortly be published. Pakistan is a new country in which there is much work to be done. Our armed forces have to be recognised and built up to the highest standard of efficiency. Our own Pakistan officers are at present inadequate in numbers, in technical training and in experience to shoulder the whole burden at once, but my Government's policy is complete nationalisation of the officer cadres of the three services at such speed as is compatible with efficiency. I extend to all British officers who are prepared to stay on and help us a sincere welcome and I am confident that my Government will treat them in the same way as our nationals in our service.

M. A. Jinnah
Governor-General, Pakistan

ENCLOSURE III

DRAFT OF MESSAGE FROM THE HON'BLE PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, TO ALL BRITISH OFFICERS SERVING UNDER THE SUPREME COMMANDER

The terms and conditions of service under which British officers may volunteer to serve on with the Indian armed forces after the closing down of the Supreme Commander's Headquarters are being considered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and will shortly be published. The policy of my Government is the complete nationalisation of the Armed Forces of India in the shortest possible time. In order to achieve this aim, the help of a number of experienced British officers, especially in technical appointments, will be of the utmost assistance to my country. I, therefore, wish to assure those British officers, who may be prepared to volunteer, and who are asked to

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assist in this great task, of the sincere friendship and support both of myself and of my Government.

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New Delhi
18 November 1947

Dear Gen. Bucher,

The Prime Minister has prepared the following message to all British officers serving under the Supreme Commander. It has been seen by the Hon'ble the Defence Minister. The Prime Minister will be grateful if you could take steps to have his message communicated to all the officers for whom it is intended.

MESSAGE

"The terms and conditions of service under which British officers may volunteer to serve on with the Indian armed forces, after the closing down of the Supreme Commander's Headquarters, are being considered by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and will shortly be published. The policy of my Government is the complete nationalisation of the armed forces of India in the shortest possible time. In order to achieve this aim, the help of a number of experienced British officers, especially in technical appointments, will be of the utmost assistance to my country. I, therefore, wish to assure those British officers who may be prepared to volunteer, and who are asked to assist in this great task, of the sincere friendship and support both of myself and of my Government. I am sure that in the new order that we are building up in India there is plenty of room for British assistance and co-operation, which will also help in maintaining close and friendly relations between India and England." —Jawaharlal Nehru

Yours sincerely,
H. V. R. Iengar
Principal Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister

General F. R. R. Bucher
Chief of General Staff
GHQ
New Delhi

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New Delhi
7 April 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In the Hindustan Times of 4 April considerable prominence has been given to the problem of Indian defence forces and the appointment of a Defence Committee to consider this. In effect, the decisions of the Cabinet have been published. In the same issue of the Hindustan Times it is also stated that the Central Pay Commission's report has been examined by Government and accepted. Both these items of news are essentially secret and it is most distressing and embarrassing that publicity should have been given to them.

Previously the Dawn had given publicity to matters which had come up before the Cabinet. It is obvious that if Cabinet matters are to leak out this will make the proper functioning of the Cabinet impossible. I should like you to consider what steps might be taken to prevent this kind of occurrence.

I should be glad if you will kindly come to my room in the Council House at 5 p.m. tomorrow (8 April) to consider this and the items on the agenda of the next Cabinet meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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CHAPTER XV

NEHRU FORMS NEW CABINET

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
14 March 1947

Dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

The Cabinet Secretary has shown me your note on the draft minutes of the Cabinet meeting held on Friday, 28 February [see enclosure].

2. It has never been the practice, in India or in the UK, or in other countries, I believe, for budget proposals on taxation to be committed to writing beforehand, and circulated to Members of the Cabinet, like other Cabinet papers. The taxation proposals are always explained verbally by the Finance Member at a Cabinet meeting very shortly before the introduction of the Budget. Before this, they are usually known only to the Finance Member and head of the Government. This year, in view of the special circumstances, I had them explained beforehand to two other Members of the Cabinet.

3. The Budget is the most important Government measure of the year, and the Cabinet as a whole must accept responsibility for it. It cannot possibly be considered as the responsibility of the Finance Member only. I am quite aware that it is naturally impossible for Members to grasp all the detailed implications, but the general policy of taxation must be the responsibility of the Cabinet as a whole.

4. Both at the preliminary meeting between myself and three Members of the Cabinet, and at the full Cabinet meeting, though many questions were asked, nothing was said which indicated to me any general disapproval of the taxation policy laid down. I therefore consider that it is correct to say that the proposals were approved.

Yours sincerely,
Wavell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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ENCLOSURE

HON. HOME MEMBER'S OFFICE

Reference to Cabinet Secretariat No. 436/C.M./47, dated 1 March 1947 relating to the minutes recorded about Budget proposals in the Cabinet meeting on 28 February 1947, I must point out that there has been some serious misunderstanding.

The record of the minutes says that "The Hon'ble the Finance Member explained his Budget proposals which the Cabinet approved." I take exception to the underlined portion in the minutes, as I have not understood that the proposals were placed for the Cabinet's approval. All that happened was that the Finance Member explained generally his taxation proposals and some questions were put by Members seeking some information relating to those proposals. The taxation proposals were of such a vital, revolutionary and complicated character that it would be impossible for the acutest brain to study and digest their implications in such a short time so as to give any approval to them. What I understood was that the responsibility for the budget was that of the Finance Member, who did not want to take the whole Cabinet into confidence in time, but as a matter of courtesy thought it proper to place them before the Cabinet just before placing the budget in the Assembly. Necessary correction, therefore, should be made in the minutes.

H. M. Home & I & B

2-3-47

Mr. H. M. Patel
Joint Secretary to Cabinet [Secretariat]

527

New Delhi
16 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Thank you for your letter of 14 March 1947.

2. I am sorry I am unable to subscribe to your view that the Budget proposals should be deemed to have been approved by the Cabinet. I and many other Members of the Cabinet feel that, having differed from the Finance Member ever since he placed the proposals before us and having had no opportunity to express that dissent, we cannot accept responsibility for the proposals.

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3. We strongly feel that these Budget proposals will put back economic progress and we cannot be parties to them unless they are very greatly altered and amended.

4. We had hoped that suitable amendments would be accepted in the Select Committee. This has been rendered impossible by the disciplined votes of the official members. It is impossible for us to support the measures as they are going to be returned by the Select Committee on the 19th. It is impossible to secure the consent of the Legislature either.

5. In these circumstances, I feel that the best and most appropriate course would be for the Cabinet to re-examine the proposals in the light of the public reactions to them and the views and alternatives offered in the Legislature and the Select Committee. For this purpose, I would suggest your convening an emergent meeting of the Cabinet before the 19th when the report of the Select Committee is due for presentation. This seems to me the only way out of a very critical situation.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

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New Delhi
15 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

I understand that, within the next month or two, 14 posts of Secretaries are going to fall vacant. The list, as it has come to my notice, is as follows:

Secretary, Home Department
Secretary, Information & Broadcasting Department
Secretary of the Cabinet
Secretary, Industries & Supplies Department
Principal Secretary, Finance Department
Secretary, Transport Department
Secretary, Works, Mines and Power Department
Secretary, Food Department
Secretary, Commerce Department
Secretary, External Affairs Department
Secretary, Legislative Department
Secretary, Agriculture Department

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Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department
Secretary, Posts & Air Department.

2. If my information is correct, it means a sudden demand for senior officers for key posts. I need hardly emphasise that the question of filling so many posts at the highest level in the Secretariat involves not only the consideration of maintaining the efficiency of Government as a whole at the maximum level but also the utilisation of the available man-power at higher level to its best advantage. I would, therefore, suggest that this question should be considered not as one for the individual departments to deal with but as one requiring consideration, in the absence of an Appointments Committee, by the Cabinet as a whole. If you agree with my suggestion, I would propose that the Home Department, in consultation with other departments concerned, should consider this problem and put up proposals for the orders of the Cabinet as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell
New Delhi

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30 July 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have spoken to [Dr. B. R.] Ambedkar[1] and he has agreed. He said Law would not give him enough work. I told him he need not worry about that. There will be plenty of work of many kinds to do.

I have also spoken to Rafi [Ahmed Kidwai] and he has agreed.

Now you have to approach Syama Prasad [Mookerjee] and Rajaji [and] Shanmukham [Chetty].

I have still to speak to [N. V.] Gadgil and Amrit Kaur.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] Member, Round Table Conference, 1930-32; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, July 1942-June 1946; Member, CA; Law Member in Nehru Cabinet

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New Delhi
1 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

As formalities have to be observed to some extent, I am writing to invite you to join the new Cabinet. This writing is somewhat superfluous because you are the strongest pillar of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
3 August 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Many thanks for your letter of the 1st instant. Our attachment and affection for each other and our comradeship for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years admit of no formalities. My services will be at your disposal, I hope, for the rest of my life and you will have unquestioned loyalty and devotion from me in the cause for which no man in India has sacrificed as much as you have done. Our combination is unbreakable and therein lies our strength. I thank you for the sentiments expressed in your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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17 York Road
New Delhi
4 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I give below the list of names for the new Cabinet which I have sent to the Governor-General:

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad
4. Dr. John Matthai
5. Shri Jagjivan Ram
6. Sardar Baldev Singh
7. Shri C. H. Bhabha
8. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
9. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
10. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar
11. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
12. Sir Shanmukham Chetty
13. Shri Narhar Vishnu Gadgil

The portfolios have not been mentioned. It is proposed, however, that portfolios with the old Members should be retained by them except for a change necessitated by Rajaji's departure.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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14 August 1947

The new Cabinet, which will function from August 15, 1947, will consist of the following members. Their portfolios are indicated oppoiste their names:

Jawaharlal Nehru	Prime Minister; External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Scientific Research
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel	Home; Information and Broadcasting; States
Dr. Rajendra Prasad	Food and Agriculture
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad	Education
Dr. John Matthai	Railways and Transport
Sardar Baldev Singh	Defence
Shri Jagjivan Ram	Labour
Mr. C. H. Bhabha	Commerce
Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai	Communications
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur	Health
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar	Law
Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty	Finance
Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee	Industries and Supplies
Shri N. V. Gadgil	Works, Mines and Power

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Pilani
Jaipur State
29 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I arrived here on the 27th evening. The weather is clear and bright and I hope it will help me to recuperate soon.

On the 26th evening Rajkumari Amrit Kaur saw me with a message from Bapu. It was to the effect that I was unable to put forth the energy that the food situation required and I should therefore give it up. I told him I would do it unhesitatingly if it did not embarrass the Prime Minister in finding a substitute.

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I saw Bapu on the morning of the 27th on my way to the aerodrome. He told me that I should not give up the Constituent Assembly Presidentship and should also retain the agriculture portfolio but should give up food. I told him that if it did not cause embarrassment to the Prime Minister I would do so and requested him to speak to Jawaharlalji which he said he would do. I have not mentioned the matter to anyone else up to now, as I did not like it to be talked about before it was finally decided. I am writing to Jawaharlalji today communicating to him what is stated above and on hearing from him will take such action as may be required. I know it will come to the department as a bombshell and if it is finally decided I shall prepare them for the news before I actually send in my resignation. I am therefore writing to you also in a personal secret cover.

I hope things are improving. It takes long for letters to come here. I have asked the Food Secretary to arrange to send my mail bag. If you have to send anything to me please have it handed over to him for being passed on to me. Please let me know what reply you got from Patna to your letter about the Governor.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Government House
Patna
6 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received your letter of 1 December today and also Jawaharlal's letter. I have informed him that I am agreeable to work in Rajendra Prasadji's place in the Central Cabinet. I doubt if I can leave Bihar before the 23rd as I have to preside on the 20th and 21st as Chancellor of Patna University which has to confer honorary degrees on Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad and three local public men, including our Prime Minister. So I expect to reach there on the 24th or thereabouts.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas (Doulatram)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
5 July 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The enclosed note has been put up before me. I think it will be desirable to follow the course suggested. The names proposed for the committee are, of course, merely provisional and for your consideration. You are much more acquainted with suitable persons who might be desirable on such a committee.

If you agree with this proposal I trust you will appoint some committee and ask it to report within two or three weeks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

It has been recognised for some time that the organisation of work within the Government of India should be improved. Some of the directions in which improvement is particularly called for are:

(i) procedure in regard to noting by office;

(ii) circulation of files between departments and handling of files at different levels in each department;

(iii) procedure for obtaining financial concurrence and the system of financial control;

(iv) tendency towards over-centralisation, so that officers at each level do not discharge the maximum responsibility they may be capable of;

(v) strengthening of officer cadres especially at the lower levels.

In view of the impending reconstitution of the Government of India and other events, the time has come to make a review of these and other similar problems. The efficiency of Government and the speed with which new proposals can be framed and executed will depend to no small extent on the machinery and procedure of administration.

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2. Similarly it is necessary to consider the organisation of departments under the new set-up. There is a risk that we may carry all the features of the present organisation into the new administration. It is to our advantage to take the opportunity of making such changes as are essential at what is after all a turning point.

3. With these objects in view, it is proposed that a committee should be set up unofficially by HVP [Hon'ble Vice-President] and the Home Member with the following terms of reference:

(i) To make recommendations regarding the organisation of departments and the possible re-allocation of departmental business in the Govt. of India with effect from 15 August 1947;

(ii) to make recommendations for improvement in the procedure and machinery of administration (including the system of financial control) in the Secretariat and allied offices

4. The committee will be able to consider the recommendations made in earlier years in the Lewellyn Smith Report[1] and the Maxwell Report[2] and more recently in the Reports prepared by Sir Richard Tottenham and by Mr. H. A. C. Gill in the Finance Department.

5. In considering the personnel for a committee of this kind, an important consideration is to take the help of officers who are not otherwise too closely burdened with work in the Partition Committees. It is suggested that the following officers may be requested to make draft recommendations on the terms of reference set out above:

(i) Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Secretary, Home Department.

(ii) Mr. V. K. R. Menon, Secretary, Labour Department.

(iii) Mr. K. R. P. Aiyangar, Joint Secretary, Finance Department; lately Secretary, Pay Commission.

(iv) Mr. L. K. Jha, Deputy Secretary, Commerce Department.

Mr. Banerjee could be the chairman and Mr. Jha the secretary of the committee. The committee would of course be free to consider any other matters which it might wish to bring out.

6. The committee can advise upon further steps after it has prepared its draft recommendations. Perhaps it would be useful to get these proposals within two to three weeks and to invite comments from selected officers of the Government of India, to which the committee could give further consideration. By the end of July or the beginning of August the committee could produce a report for consideration, informally, by members of Government.

[1] Report of the Committee on Government of India Secretariat Procedure under L. Smith, 1919

[2] ICS; Central Home Member, 1938-44; headed Committee on Organisation and Procedure whose report was published in 1937

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New Delhi
6 July 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please refer to your letter of 5 July 1947 regarding a proposal to set up a committee to make recommendations regarding reorganization of departments and other matters.

2. There is already a considerable amount of literature on this subject. Various committees have reported on it from time to time and the latest reports are those submitted by Sir Richard Tottenham and Mr. H. A. C. Gill. These reports were considered in great detail by the Machinery of Government Committee, which consisted of senior officers of the Government of India. The recommendations of this committee on the reports have come up to Government from time to time. Some time ago, I dealt with their recommendations on the question of reorganisation of the Secretariat machinery. Although I could not accept their recommendations, we evolved an alternative scheme which would have the effect of strengthening the officer cadres at the lower levels. The Federal Public Service Commission and other authorities, whom we consulted, have blessed our alternative scheme, but it could not be put into force owing to the standstill agreement. As soon as we are in a position to resume the threads of normal administration, that scheme would be put into force subject to Cabinet approval. Similarly other recommendations, which are concerned with the reorganisation of the Secretariat and improvement in its working and procedure, would also come up for consideration and submission of proposals to the Cabinet.

3. In these circumstances, I do not think that it is at all necessary to set up any fresh committee. If during the course of consideration of these recommendations I feel that any ad hoc committee is necessary on any particular matter, I shall certainly set up such a committee.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Vice-President of the Cabinet
New Delhi

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New Delhi
6 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just seen a letter dated 5 August, addressed by P. V. R. Rao to Tarlok Singh stating that the Home Department [has] come to the conclusion that Oulsnam, Secretary, Health Department, should be relieved with effect from 15 August. I am rather surprised to learn this, somewhat indirectly, as I have been proceeding on the assumption that Oulsnam will stay for a short time more. Indeed I have been discussing various matters with him and have asked him to take certain action. Just at present the Health Department is completely depleted and new people will have to be brought in. I should have thought that before any decision was arrived at in such a matter some kind of reference might have been made to the acting Member for Health; otherwise, there is bound to be dislocation and sometimes contrary policies being pursued.

I was given to understand by you that no one who chose to stay on is going to be asked to leave summarily. In accordance with that I proceeded on the basis that Oulsnam was staying on, for a while at least. Whether Oulsnam is particularly suited for it or not is beside the point.

Apart from this individual matter, there is another aspect to be considered. Any action taken in regard to officers of a particular department should, I imagine, be taken in consultation with the Member concerned. Otherwise his plans might be completely upset.

For the last three days I have had daily interviews with Oulsnam and, in fact, I am seeing him this morning. This was with the purpose of organising the Health Department and making some appointments. The intimation that he is going in about a week's time suddenly upsets all this. The notice appears to me to be very short and people might feel that we are acting in too great a hurry without giving enough time to persons who have been in service for a considerable period.

Last evening Lady Mountbatten came to me and mentioned Bhatia's case as well as one or two others. Her point was that

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it was not fair to suddenly push out a person at short notice. I assured her that this was not our policy and that we are asking the Madras Government and the Bengal Government not to proceed in this way in the case of IMS officers. Oulsnam's case now will belie the assurance I gave her and it will be difficult to justify. Of course, she has no official position in this matter. She is only connected with a number of medical associations, like the Tuberculosis and other associations and she was worried about them.

I am rather at a loss to know how I am to talk to Oulsnam when he comes to see me. It seems rather odd that I should be completely unaware of what was going to happen to him and that I should have talked to him till yesterday on a different basis. I am put in a somewhat false position. All I can tell him today is that I was not aware of this step and that I shall give more thought to it.

I hope to see you today and discuss this matter more fully.

I am enclosing a copy of Rao's letter to Tarlok Singh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Home Department (India)
New Delhi
5 August 1947

My dear Tarlok Singh,

I am desired to state for the information of the Hon'ble Member, Health Department (India), that Mr. Oulsnam, Secretary, Health Department, had, in reply to this department's letter dated 18 June 1947, enquiring whether he wishes to continue in service after 15 August, expressed willingness to continue in service for a short period and that the Hon'ble the Home Member after examining his case has come to the conclusion that he should be relieved with effect from 15 August 1947. I have informed Mr. Oulsnam accordingly and I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Mr. Patel, the Establishment Officer to the Government of India, so that he may initiate action to find a suitable successor.

Yours sincerely,
P. V. R. Rao

Tarlok Singh, Esq., ICS

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New Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 6 August 1947 regarding Oulsnam.

We have had a discussion about it already and if you feel that the retention of Oulsnam would serve any useful purpose, I have no objection to your keeping him on until the middle of October.

I might perhaps explain that we had agreed to permit officers to remain in India if they wanted to continue indefinitely and that we had not given any guarantee to them to abide by their option, if they wish to stay only for a short period. But as regards Indian officers, there is no question of their being relieved of their employment unless the Provincial Government, or we ourselves, found that anyone was particularly bad and should be discharged, even if we had to pay compensation. I believe the IMS will be wound up on 15 August, and thereafter, will be provincialised. It is, therefore, competent of the Madras Govt. to say that they do not wish to retain an IMS officer, but that would not mean that the IMS officer would have to go. It would be incumbent on the Centre to find for him a job either at the Centre or in some other province, failing which he would be entitled to compensation.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
6 August 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have read in today's papers that [S. A.] Venkataraman has been confirmed as Secretary, Industries and Supplies Department.

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Previously, I had heard reports to this effect, but apparently final action has now been taken by the Hon'ble Member in charge. I also understand that Rajaji has made appointments to various posts, even though according to our standstill orders posts vacated by persons leaving for Pakistan were not to be filled save in exceptional circumstances. Matthai has stated in a Cabinet summary that [Y. N.] Sukhthankar is to take up the post of Secretary, Transport Department, with effect from 11 August.

2. In connection with the appointment of the Reorganisation Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, I have already indicated the very difficult position regarding ICS officers. One of the terms of reference of this committee is to suggest reorganisation of departments with a view to the allocation in the best manner possible of available personnel. It is only after this committee has reported that we shall be in a position to fix important posts which must be filled by ICS officers and then having regard to the ICS officers available we would have to arrange postings which would be to the best advantage of Government as a whole and not any particular department.

3. From this point of view I feel that any appointments made are likely to prejudice our freedom of action in making appointments having regard to the recommendations of the committee and the manpower available. You will recall that when the two Provisional Governments were set up and we had to consider certain appointments, we made it clear to His Excellency the Viceroy that the appointments were provisional.

4. In all these circumstances, I feel that all appointments which have been made whether on or after 21 July, or even previously, but which have not yet been given effect to, should be considered as provisional. I also suggest that the sub-committee of the Cabinet which would consider the recommendations of the Bajpai Report should go into the question of all appointments and suggest such changes or reallotment of officers from one department to another as it may consider necessary having regard to the manpower position, the intrinsic importance of various posts and merits of officers concerned.

5. I suggest that this matter might be mentioned in the Cabinet tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
14 June 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Yesterday I spoke to you about H. V. R. Iengar. I think he is one of our most capable senior officers and his services should be utilised to the full in the division arrangements now going on. I suppose he could easily do this work in addition to Constituent Assembly work. As a matter of fact I was thinking of him in connection with the new States Department that we were thinking of setting up, but I feel that he might be more useful to you.

I enclose a note which has been sent to me by Brij Narain, a senior officer of the Military Finance Department. There is not very much in this note. Brij Narain, however, seems to me a useful person who can give help and information. He came to me, I think, with a letter from Rajendra Babu. I sent him on to Sardar Baldev Singh. He is well known to V. P. Menon and others. He is at present stationed at Meerut but he spends weekends in Delhi.

I believe that R. L. Gupta's name has already been mentioned to you as a person who can be of help in various ways. He is Joint Secretary in the Finance Department.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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27 July 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just been to Bapu. He felt that [K. M.] Munshi was wholly unsuited for Bengal. Indeed, he felt he was even more unsuited for Bengal than for East Punjab. He based his conclusion on his intimate knowledge of Bengal and the Bengalis.

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The only name he could suggest was Amrit Kaur's.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
24 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

As you know, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in New Delhi a week ago. This meeting considered the present situation and passed a number of important resolutions. You must have seen these resolutions in the newspapers. Nevertheless, I am sending you a copy of some of the resolutions bearing on general policy.

Many of the members of the Cabinet are also members of the All-India Congress Committee and they took part in these discussions and in the passing of these resolutions. Naturally, therefore, it is their desire as well as mine that the policy followed by Government in regard to these matters should be in line with the resolutions passed by the AICC.

I would draw your special attention to the last resolution, i.e., the resolution on Congress objectives. This resolution is in the nature of a general directive for the formulation of an economic programme. It is vague as it is because a committee has been asked to draw up this programme. Nevertheless, it signifies clearly what the Congress is aiming at and what, I trust, the Government will work for.

It is becoming increasingly important that the Government of India should lay down its economic, industrial and labour policy as speedily as possible. Some attempt has been made from time to time to deal with the problems separately. It is hardly a satisfactory method. Some kind of a comprehensive picture must be seen towards which we can work in each individual sector. Hence it is necessary that we should consider this problem in its entirety and lay down a more or less precise policy.

Probably the best way to do so will be to consider the report of the Advisory Planning Board with the recommendations

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of the Economic Sub-Committee which was formed some time ago.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

A.I.C.C. RESOLUTION ON CONGRESS OBJECTIVES

Political independence having been achieved, the Congress must address itself to the next great task, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality. Such a society must provide every man and woman with equality of opportunity and freedom to work for the unfettered development of his or her personality. This can only be realised when democracy extends from the political to the social and the economic spheres. Democracy in the modern age necessitates planned central direction as well as decentralisation of political and economic power in so far as this is compatible with the safety of the State, with efficient production and the cultural progress of the community as a whole. The smallest territorial unit should be able to exercise effective control over its corporate life by means of a popularly elected Panchayat. In so far as it is possible, national and regional economic self-sufficiency in the essentials of life should be aimed at. In the case of industries, which in their nature must be run on a large scale and on a centralised basis, they should belong to the community, and they should be so organised that workers become not only co-sharers in the profits but are also increasingly associated with the management and administration of industry. Land, with its mineral resources, and all other means of production as well as distribution and exchange must belong to and be regulated by the community in its own interest.

Our aim should be to evolve a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with individual liberty, and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without the creation of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth and which will create a proper balance between urban and rural economies. Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a totalitarian State.

With a view to drawing up the economic programme for the Congress in accordance with the above-mentioned principles and the election manifesto of the Congress dated 19 December 1945, the following committee is appointed:

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

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3. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan[1]
4. Prof. N. G. Ranga[2]
5. Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda
6. Shri J. C. Kumarappa
7. Shri Achyut Patwardhan[3]
8. Shri Shankarrao Deo—with powers to coopt.

16 November 1947

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
14 August 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I cannot leave my active participation in Cabinet work without writing a line to express my sincere appreciation of the loyal support you have given me as a Member of the Interim Government during my short period of Viceroyalty. No one could pretend that the Coalition Ministry was an easy partnership, particularly with the partition looming so large in the background; but you and your colleagues made my task easy and thus proved yourselves true statesmen of whom your country can well be proud.

It was indeed fortunate that a statesman of your vision and realism should have been associated with all the discussions on the 3 June Plan and with all the subsequent vital and delicate negotiations with the States. After our first "tussle" I always felt we should become friends, and I believe history will prove that that friendship played a very vital part in obtaining a peaceful solution and a speedy transfer of power to a Dominion of India which, with the States, will be greater than "British India" was by itself.

Thank you also for your trust and support in the problem of the Indian States—future generations will appreciate the full effect of the wise policy you have followed.

1 Founder-Secretary, Socialist Party of India; prominent member of Congress till 1948; retired from politics and engaged himself in Sarvodaya (public welfare activities), including Bhoodan (land gift) movement

2 President, All India Kisan Sabha; President, Andhra PCC; member, Congress Parliamentary Party; Founder-President, Swatantra Party

3 Veteran freedom fighter

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With this letter I am sending you a small informal photograph of myself, in the hope that you will accept it as a souvenir of the historic time when we were colleagues together in the Cabinet.

All best wishes to you and to the Dominion of India.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
16 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of 14 August. I am overwhelmed by the personal references to me and by the generous terms in which you have referred to such assistance to you as I have been able to render in the very difficult and complicated task which was entrusted to you by His Majesty's Government.

You were good enough to call me a stern realist and it is as such that I make bold to say that, when the history of the six months of your Viceroyalty comes to be written, it cannot but accord to you the major share of the credit for the manner in which the manifold difficult tasks have been accomplished and for the transformation which has been made in Indo-British relationship during these fateful months. India and Indians have always been quick to respond to understanding and sympathy. Both Britain and India must congratulate each other that in you they at last found one so abounding in these virtues, essentially a man of speed and action, frank and painstaking and genuinely sincere and anxious to deliver the goods. The only regret of ours is, and of the future historian will be, that we should have had the benefit of your wise counsel and the privilege of your able guidance at a much earlier date.

I personally have a great deal to thank you for. It is possible I have taxed your patience and consideration severely during the last few months of great mental stress and strain, but I have always found in you a ready response which has often dispelled the clouds of anxiety and concern. In fact, what you have achieved in the way of friendship and goodwill merely emphasises what the long line of your predecessors have missed as a result of studied

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aloofness and failure to take into confidence leaders of public opinion.

I am also grateful to you for the kind thought which prompted you to send me your photograph as a souvenir of our collaboration during these historic times. I shall always prize it as such.

May I add a word of gratefulness to Her Excellency for the humanitarian service which she has rendered to India at a time when it was sorely needed? Her keen insight into human psychology and vigilant interest in the removal of human suffering and misery have touched the hearts of thousands with whom she has come in contact.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 August 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am most grateful as well as deeply touched at the kind and generous references you have made to me in your letter to my husband. It has been a great privilege as well as a real joy to work for India and with Indians in the past months. My heart has gone out to them in their suffering and needs and in the great sacrifices they have made, and my admiration at the fine courage they have shown at all time.

No words can express the gratitude I feel to you, your daughter and to the people of India for the warm sympathy and understanding as well as generosity of spirit you have shown me since my arrival here. We are honoured that you should have invited us to stay and work with you a little longer and pray that we may be worthy of the trust that you have placed in us.

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten
of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Government House
New Delhi
23 August 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Many congratulations on your new and vital appointment.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to the Prime Minister, since much of what is written affects the States: in particular you will remember your promise to Jodhpur that you would ensure they did not starve.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Government House
23 August 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

For some time past I have been gravely disturbed by certain aspects of the economic situation in India, particularly by the food situation. I know that you and your colleagues have also had them on your mind, and have been trying to grapple with them, in the midst of other matters which, during the last few weeks, have claimed first attention. I feel that it may be of assistance to you if I let you know how the situation appears to me, and add some suggestions, on which I should greatly value a discussion with you.

The economic dangers facing us are in my view three-fold—first, a break-down of urban food rationing; secondly, a coal crisis; and thirdly, should either of these two occur, a severe inflationary spiral that will place urban subsistence beyond wage levels.

2. So far as the food situation is concerned, we are, of course, all aware of the facts. They are, briefly, that the food stocks with which to support rationing systems over large areas of India, but principally in South India, will give out before the Kharif crop is reaped and marketed in late October or early November. Over some parts of India this crop is, in fact, likely to fail completely. Indigenous procurement from the last Rabi crop has already virtually ceased.

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Imports cannot possibly fill the gap. It seems therefore almost unavoidable that, from early September onwards, and despite severe cuts in the adult ration, rationing systems in many urban areas will be in grave danger of breaking down. If this were to happen, public confidence in the food administration, which has with such difficulty been built up since the bitter experience of 1943[1], and which is the last defence against famine, would be dealt a disastrous blow.

3. Since procurement and distribution are the pillars of food administration, it is my belief that only a really vigorous, early and united effort, by the Central Government and all Provincial and State Governments concerned, backed by the whole weight of the Congress Party machine, to renew and intensify procurement, and prepare for emergency distribution, will avert famine conditions in the urban areas this autumn. As regards procurement, we know that the crops in many parts of the affected areas, e.g. Madras, have been good; and I fully appreciate the difficulty which is being experienced in extracting the full quota from the cultivators, and the steps which have so far been taken to overcome them. But I am sure you will agree that nothing should be left to chance in this. As regards emergency distribution, the Army will hardly be able to help this time, as it did in Bengal in 1943. Casey, who was then Governor of Bengal, told me that almost the whole credit for arresting the full impact of that disaster, and preventing widespread disease must be given to the Army, which released reserve foodstuffs and provided transport and medical units. Demobilisation has now reached a point where there is no margin of resources to provide such assistance. Indeed, the Army is already grievously strained by the relatively enormous commitments of maintaining the Punjab Boundary Force.

4. Secondly, as regards the coal position, I understand that the industrial centres of India, to say nothing of railways and public utilities (gas, electricity, water etc.) have never before been operating on such restricted quotas as they have been during the last six months. I need hardly remind you of the disastrous effect on steel production which the closing down of 30 per cent of the blast furnaces had brought about. I believe it is right to say that this is not so much due to a shortage of mined coal or to a deficiency of rolling stock, as to the bottleneck in the marshalling yards through which empty wagons are passed into the coalfields and full wagons are passed out for distribution. By its nature, a marshalling yard must normally work 24 hours a day. A legacy of the communal trouble in Bihar and Bengal is that men are reluctant to work by night for fear of attack on themselves or their families. An improvement in the system of operating marshalling yards continuously would produce a corresponding improvement in the whole coal supply situation. Conversely, any further setbacks in marshalling yards will have a

[1] Reference is to the Bengal famine

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most definitely adverse effect on urban employment, nearly all of which is dependent on coal in the final analysis. The first remedy here would seem to be the restoration of confidence among the workers.

5. With regard to the third danger, inflation, it is true to say that every community contains an element alert to profit from national misfortune, and that India is no exception to this rule. It is beyond doubt that the Bengal famine was largely aggravated by this class. If either or both of the food and coal factors turns against the Government and the peoples of India, a serious price inflation must inevitably follow. It will be unavoidable and uncontrolled. A food crisis would again place the cost of subsistence above wages. If coal shortages restricted the output of factories or closed them altogether many would have no wages at all. I suggest to you that in the field of inflation lies a fruitful opportunity for the political enemies of the present Government.

6. I have therefore come to the conclusion, which I feel that I must place before you, that quick determined action alone can mitigate or circumvent these dangers to the future of India. It appears to me, and I must say so bluntly, a case where the whole structure and machinery of the Congress Party should be thrown in to reinforce the efforts that the Administration should make to raise indigenous food procurement to the requisite level, to prepare for emergency distribution and to bring the marshalling yards and all related coal facilities to the highest peak of productive action.

I have written this letter because it is my view that immediate measures, both by the Government and by the Congress Party, are essential to the future well-being of India. I cannot help feeling that all available talent should now be employed on measures for saving the country from disaster, and that absolute priority should be given to this. I hope you will not hesitate to make any use of this letter which you think fit. I am sending a copy to the Minister for States, since many of the States are also closely affected.

Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

548

New Delhi
25 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your kind letter dated 23 August 1947 and for the congratulations on my appointment as Deputy Prime Minister. I know that I can always rely on your good wishes, co-operation and advice and your kind thought in adding the

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congratulations to your letter strengthens me in that faith. For this I am sincerely grateful.

I deeply appreciate the vigilant interest in our problems which has prompted you to write to the Prime Minister on the three dangers with which we are faced and which you have set out in such clear and concise terms. I agree with you that nothing less than a maximum all-out effort is required to meet these dangers and that we cannot afford to lose any more time over it. I am fully conscious that the problem affects the States as seriously and as urgently as it does the Dominion proper. You can rest assured that I shall remain always watchful on their behalf and that the undertaking which I have given to Jodhpur State in regard to their food supplies will be honoured.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

MEMORANDA RECEIVED UNOFFICIALLY BY SARDAR PATEL, PRESUMABLY FROM INDIAN MILITARY OFFICERS, AT THE TIME OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ARMED FORCES ON THE EVE OF PARTITION

(1)

RECONSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES

1. The allocation of major units to the armed forces of the two dominions of India and Pakistan has already been decided upon.

2. The division of stores, equipment, training establishments and regimental and corps centres remains to be carried out.

3. This task, it has been announced, is to be carried out by the Joint Defence Council through the Supreme Commander.

4. The Supreme Commander's staff (the present Naval, General and Air HQs.) are to be anglicized.

This will result in:

(a) neither India nor Pakistan having a hand in the detailed implementation of the decisions of the Joint Defence Council.

(b) the newer and more up-to-date equipment being given to Pakistan, as most of the British officers electing to serve on wish to do so in Pakistan.

(c) most of special equipment of a secret nature e.g. radar, going back to the UK instead of being divided between India and Pakistan. Neither India nor Pakistan Army HQs. will be aware of how much of such equipment there is in India, as their representatives will not be on the staff of the Supreme Commander.

(d) Much of the top secret military intelligence vital to the future military development of India and Pakistan, being destroyed when the present AFHQ ceases to exist, on completion of the reconstitution. There is no doubt that the top-ranking British officers will destroy such intelligence or return it to the UK to prevent its being used by us. In fact this was partly done early this year, when the British decision to quit in June 1948 was about to be announced. Up to then, Indian Armed Forces were regarded as an appendage of the British Armed Forces and few secrets were withheld. Since then, few pamphlets and no papers on future development of

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equipment and warfare generally are coming in. Even the USA has been asked not to pass American military intelligence to India since the present Indian military attache assumed office in Washington.

5. It is suggested, therefore, that in each directorate of the Supreme Commander's staff, the director, who could be British, should be assisted by Indian and Pakistani officers. If possible for purposes of division, the British Director and the Indian and Pakistani officers should constitute a committee for the detailed division of stores, equipment, files, intelligence, schools and other establishments. This principle has been followed in the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee and in all civil departments. It should be continued for the detailed implementation of the decisions of the Joint Defence Council.

The Supreme Commander's Headquarters

1. Unlike civil departments, the present Armed Forces Headquarters are not being reconstituted into Naval, Army and Air HQs. for India and Pakistan. New Naval, Army and Air HQs. are being set up for each dominion and the present AFHQ being retained to implement the decisions of the Joint Defence Council and to administer the Armed Forces of the two dominions until reconstitution is complete.

2. Apart from creating more senior appointments for British officers, thus enabling them to retire on a higher pension than they would otherwise have done, this organisation will mean a tremendous and unnecessary drain on the finances of the two dominions. There is no reason why Pakistan Defence Headquarters should not be created out of the present AFHQ and Northern Command Staffs. Also, it is essential that division of Armed Forces assets (stores, equipment, schools, centres and other establishments) is not entrusted to non-Indian and non-Pakistani hands. The C-in-C's (Supreme Commander's) senior British Staff would largely be used as chairman of boards of Indian and Pakistani officers to carry out this division. The administration and supply of the forces of the two dominions does not require a large headquarters, the size of the present GHQ.

(2)

FUNDAMENTAL DEFECTS

The whole scheme prepared by the Chiefs of the Staff Committee for the reconstitution of the Armed Forces in India has certain fundamental defects. In the first place, it makes no allowance for the decision that choice to serve in Pakistan or India would be purely voluntary. Nor does it take into account the decision that the disposition of the Army on 15 August should be fixed with due regard to the necessity of having in respective areas most

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of the personnel which would ultimately be subject to the orders of the Dominion Government concerned. Apart from this, there is a major defect in the plan, since it has been assumed that the existing animosity between the tribal areas and India would continue. As far as I know, the Muslim League believes that, with the establishment of Pakistan, a relationship based on amity would grow up between the tribal areas and the settled districts, and it is therefore unreasonable for the Chiefs of Staff so to dispose of the Army as to take away a major portion of the Indian Army to the Frontier. Further, in the matter of mutual assistance, which is one of the basic assumptions on which the plan is based, it is not necessary that a portion of our Army should be bodily removed and posted into the Pakistan area. Should at any time the Pakistan Government feel that its own forces are inadequate to deal with the situation, it could ask for aid from India, and I have no doubt that under suitable conditions such aid would be forthcoming.

The whole scheme, therefore, requires reconsideration on this basis. The policing of the Frontier must be done by Pakistan forces, though under mutual agreement we could keep a substantial part of our Army within striking distance in case of need. For this purpose, the cantonments of Ambala and Jullundur, and not Rawalpindi and other cantonments in the NWFP, would be suitable. The strength of the Pakistan forces can be settled by the Pakistan Government or those who can speak on their behalf at present on the basis of their territorial and strategic needs. They should have nothing to do with the Army of India except insofar as an agreed mutual assistance pact might necessitate. The allocation of 97 major units to India for her normal needs could be accepted. In addition, we should have 30 units stationed in Eastern Punjab to deal with possible worsening of the situation either on the Frontier or in Western Punjab. This would leave 52 units for Pakistan, which should be sufficient for its needs under the altered conditions and which perhaps is the maximum its economy could afford.

As regards aircraft, the same considerations as have been mentioned above apply. I do not think it will be fair to India to give her anything less than seven Air Force units, leaving three for Pakistan, though on a voluntary basis it is doubtful if Pakistan would be able to get even as many as three units. However, that could be the target for the actual allocation, and Pakistan will have to find out ways and means of supplementing it.

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(3)

DIVISION OF ARMED FORCES

1. Brig. Cariappa, I understand, has submitted a top secret document proposing a scheme of joint defence with Pakistan. I have not seen this document but his views are known. These were given publicity by the Dawn last week in what it said was an "interview" with the Brig. He may hold these views sincerely and is entitled to express them to our leaders. It so happens that some such views are also held by senior British officers, including the Supreme Commander. The point of importance is that this is a matter of high policy and unless it is approved by our Government, no one, and certainly not the soldiers, is entitled to express them in public. Further, such views held by soldiers are apt to influence vital decisions such as are now under consideration.

2. It is obvious that the general scheme of division of armed forces approved by the Partition Council and now being enforced, is breaking up the homogeneity of every unit and regiment. The final picture of units, when reformed, will be Muslim on the Pakistan side and non-Muslim with a sprinkling of Muslims on our side. In the context of communal relations and to the extent to which Pakistan develops its Islamic role, there is little hope in the foreseeable future of any friendly relations being developed in the two Armed Forces. This is unfortunate; it would nevertheless be folly to ignore it. In the re-building up of the homogeneity of disrupted units, care has to be taken not to force — at least at this stage — the "reconciliation" of irreconcilables.

3. The British claim to have preserved the unity of Armed Forces even in recent months when communal relation were at their worst, and we have publicly commended this. They did this by completely isolating the Forces from public opinion. That is how they also used them against national interests. The picture is now completely changed. A people's Armed Force must necessarily reflect public opinion and the Forces can now no longer be isolated.

4. More necessary than the homogeneity of individual units is the absolute necessity of having a "balanced" Force. This "balance" covers, in the first place, the sum-total of all units, branches and formations on land and sea and air and secondly the capacity of production in civil life with which the Armed Forces are fed. It is noteworthy that although the British gave us an excellent fighting machine, they never developed its "balance." Two analogies will make this clear. (a) In Land Forces, our armies have proved second to none. On the technical side, however, these forces remained dependent on

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British and foreign equipment. (b) We have ten Air Squadrons which we were told were completely Indianised. On closer examination we found that even these were ineffective because the entire maintenance side was wholly British. The result of this policy is not only that we have to depend on British supplies even now; but more unfortunate we have to retain British personnel. I submit that if we are not careful here and now and let the Supreme Commander, British officers and even senior Indians imbued with old ideas, fashion our units or the armed force as a whole on the old or near-old basis, we shall have on our hands—and the danger may become apparent after some years—a force dependent not only on the British or other foreign Power but even on Pakistan. A lacuna in our planning now will be hard to fill for years.

5. It is said that the Supreme Commander's powers have been severely limited and he is concerned merely with the business of division of Forces. This is far from true. The GHQ is now busy (has been for months) planning the post-war Armed Forces, so called. The entire scheme bears the Supreme Commander's personal impress. What is worse, no one—not even the senior Indian officers in almost all cases—knows how actually the various branches are being transformed. Only last week, the Military Engineers Directorate prepared a compact plan for post-war Directorate somewhat as follows:

Director-Colonel

Dy. Directors—two Lt. Colonels

Staff—four Majors and eight Captains. This meant the elimination of several British officers holding senior posts. They are said to have gone up (presumably to the C-in-C's Committee), with the result that the Directorate will now consist of almost as at present:

Director—Brig.

Dy. Directors—two Coloneals

Staff—four Lt. Colonels, eight Majors etc.

Quite apart from overhead heavy expense, this means the retention of a larger number of British officers as this branch has only a few junior Indian officers.

Instances can be multiplied. But they work behind closed doors. They base their plans on "budget provisions" and claim that no one, not even the Defence Member, can interfere in working out details. The new C-in-C India is a British General. In theory he will make up his own GHQ. In practice he will find his work more or less done by the staff of the present Supreme Commander, who is a power to be reckoned with by anyone. Further, the Supreme Commander claims that all British officers, even after they are allotted to the two dominions, will be his charge for promotions or removal. If this is so, the more the British officers on our side (and they will hold command and other important jobs) the bigger the influence of the Supreme Commander. I submit that as this Supreme Commander and his British Generals have preconceived ideas—ideas that kept our Forces dependent on

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Britain, ideas that kept the Indians out of key jobs (these still being relentlessly pursued), ideas that though divided, the two Forces of India and Pakistan must in fact operate as one—and to trust his schemes and plans and to let him propose policy and work out its details as he will do, is to trust our future to alien hands. I submit that there is enough reason to fear that the Supreme Commander and his Generals will interfere or intervene even when the C-in-C India takes over charge, particularly as all top jobs for the time in the new GHQ will also be in British hands.

6. The Supreme Commander functions through his daily committees or conferences. The same method will be adopted by C-in-C India. In these committees, there is not a single Indian. The Defence Secretary is admitted. So far he has been a Britisher. The other day, when division work was being discussed, Defence Secretary Dundas was present. He has opted for Pakistan and has been made Pakistan Defence Secretary. An Indian went from our side. The Supreme Commander first said he would recognise only Dundas. He changed immediately when it was pointed out that the matters for discussion related to division. Our Indian, however, came out with the impression that not all was put on the table. Secretary Dundas who goes on other side is fully posted. We have no comparable man who knows even half as much. From the technical point of view, as we have had no Indian General, all senior Indian officers are completely out of the picture in so far as working out of detailed plans is concerned. It is in working out these plans that we might well be landed in difficulties. I submit that the situation should be remedied immediately. The Supreme Commander has refused to promote senior Indians by one pretext or another. We should not be content in laying down policy. Our own Generals should see to its implementation from now on.

7. It is axiomatic that British Generals are all pro-Muslim and now pro-Pakistan. In para 6, I submitted that the Supreme Commander functions through his committees. His private secretary is a Muslim. He attends all committees, though not as a member. The non-Army man who also attends has been the financial adviser, also a Muslim. How much the Pakistan side has exploited the situation can be illustrated by the general impression that in the partition Army sub-committees, the Muslim officers, though of far less calibre and experience, have been far better equipped with information and are more "aggressive" than our-side officers. The army sub-committee, I understand, was constituted from the panel given by the Supreme Commander. Our men are first rate; the general fear is that they are not aggressive enough to "fight" for India's rights. I submit that when the panel was submitted, the Supreme Commander saw to it that the names of sterner type of non-Muslim Indian officers were omitted. In any event, even now men like Brig. Hiralal Atal and Lt. Col. Kaul should check up on what has happened or what is still to be done. All is not going well with the working out of detailed plans. Pakistan

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officers ask for and get help from all sides without qualms. Our men do not work so hard and are more concerned with keeping top secrets even where they are incapable of doing the particular job themselves.

8. A situation is now arising which is fraught with many difficult implications. The Supreme Commander insists that he and his partition staff (which he says must consist of almost the entire present GHQ staff) must remain in South Block. His argument is that if partition has to be swiftly done, he must have all those with him who are conversant with facts. This is plausible enough. The necessary corollary of this is that the C-in-C India when building up his staff will have to draw on officers who may not have GHQ experience. We are short of senior Indian officers. The result of this design of the Supreme Commander will mean: (a) a large concentration in Delhi, (b) retention of a much larger number of Britishers, (c) fewer Indians will be available for command of our Armed Units; thus many more regiments will have British Commanders. I submit that if, as explained above, we have British officers in key jobs and British officers in command ranks during the crucial period when Units are being reformed, we stand in danger (a) of our Units being malformed and (b) which is worse, the importance of "balance" in the final build-up being lost or ignored. It is not safe to let this aspect of details being left in British or even predominantly British hands. I submit that the Supreme Commander's present design to retain a large staff for the purposes of partition even for a short period is not only to prolong the stay of British personnel in India but to undermine the prospects of building up a self-contained and balanced Force on our side.

9. The plan till late last week was that the C-in-C India and his staff will not be housed in South Block. This is mixed up with the fear of British Generals that on August 15, GHQ will also fly the National Tricolour, which they do not want. I have it from the most reliable source that the Generals hold that as they are doing partition, GHQ shall fly both the Tricolour and the League flag—if any flag other than the Union Jack flies there. This is derogatory. Our officers are already concerned about it. The Pakistan flag must not fly over our Headquarters. We should insist (a) that the Supreme Commander need not have the entire GHQ staff quarters for his partition staff, (b) that our C-in-C must be located in GHQ South Block.

10. The Supreme Commander need not have the entire GHQ staff for his partition work. He will of course agree to thin it down. British officers are however still being kept on. A case in point is flagrant. A British Brigadier was due to retire last February (General Staff Duties). Normally he should have been asked to proceed on leave. He has stayed on in his post on the plea that he cannot get a passage. He got a passage for 18 July. An Indian was to take his place. This passage has now been postponed to August 3. The Indian is still deprived of the job and his rank. He is staying on, I understand, because

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having remained in employ after February, he will get an enhanced rate of pension. Such instances can be multiplied. No one is allowed to pry into these "details." No one can interfere. The fact is that for the purposes of division of Armed Forces, the Supreme Commander need not keep any of the following:

Chief of the General Staff (British Lt. General)
Adjutant General (do) (do)
Quarter Master General (Major General)
Military Secretary (Major General)

and at least 10 of the remaining Generals, all British. If we create ten Indian Generals immediately, they can within a fortnight handle the entire administrative side of the details of division. For technical services and branches, our Indian officers will perhaps need one to three months to pick up current duties and organise division. It follows that if the Supreme Commander is forced to reduce his staff, (a) we will get rid of the British element sooner, (b) we will have Indian officers checking up details of division and (c) we will provide facilities to the C-in-C India to employ a larger number of trained senior Indians in the new India GHQ. The Supreme Commander will not do this willingly. He must have a directive from the Defence Member or the Partition Council. I submit no time should be lost in creating Indian Generals and promoting other competent senior Indian officers to handle essential duties. The list or panel of names should not be made by the Supreme Commander. A selected number of Indian officers should be asked to furnish this list.

11. According to the present plan, I understand our new GHQ is to have some 350 officers with a staff exceeding 3,000. The plan is fantastic as compared with pre-war figures of less than 200 officers and 1,500 staff. The figures are being deliberately bloated to justify (a) that sufficient Indians are not available and (b) the retention of a larger number of Britishers. The pre-war Armed Force (Land) was 2,35,000 more or less. Of course there was no navy and a very small air force. But though post-war land force optimum is not known, the pre-budget target in March was 2,10,000, for all India. It is true we shall have on our hands some 3,00,000 men after division. If our policy remains as it was in March, we shall certainly not have a land force of more than 1,50,000. We shall probably have a bigger air force than at present (ten squadrons) but that not at once. Thus there is no justification for 350 officers in the new GHQ. Demobilisation work can be done by an additional and temporary wing of GHQ. Even this will not require a big strength. Indeed, there is no need to set up the complete new GHQ at once. The new C-in-C should have a skeleton staff of senior Indian officers (new Generals) and this staff should be instructed to stand by and keep including officers and men as and when they are released by the Supreme Commander from

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division duties. A plan rapidly worked out on these lines must be laid down at once for the direction of the Supreme Commander and the C-in-C in India. Side by side, the C-in-C and Indian Generals should draw up a plan of posting senior Indians in command ranks where possible immediately within the next six months. This way (a) there will be no undue concentration of military officers in Delhi, (b) the British officers will be eliminated progressively at a more rapid rate and (c) the C-in-C India will have his own portion of South Block, where he must remain from the day he takes over charge. Incidentally, a lot of money now being wasted in reconditioning an old Hutment Line will be saved. The entire proposition that the C-in-C India should not be in South Block and of his staff is a racket creating resentment everywhere. If his proposed staff is cut down, and it can be, there will more money saved for either a bigger post-war strength or for general revenues.

12. An immediate check-up is necessary of the few Indians whom the Supreme Commander placed in various branches, especially in the Military Secretary's branch, various sections in the Adjutant General's office and in some area commands. Some of our first class men have been shunted out. Men who are in important places are those who have acted as aliens or promoted the interests of their favourites. None of these officers should be retained in key jobs hereafter. A team of senior Indian officers should be asked to draw up a list of efficient and trusted men who must occupy key jobs and important places in GHQ, in area commands and in regiments. The appointments must be made by the Defence Member or approved by him. This team should include our men from every branch. Its next job should be to advise the Army Partition sub-committee on the details of partition. There is grave danger at present of our being let down in details. If senior enough Indians are not available in some branches, the best available material should be utilised to avoid blundering. Our side is weak, definitely weak. Too much must not be made of "top secrets." Junior men who are efficient can and must be trusted to give aid.

28-7-1947

APPENDIX TWO

(AN OFFICER'S NOTE ON IMPLICATIONS OF PARTITION)

This note raises a fundamental issue of considerable importance and it is important to enunciate in the form of a series of statements what exactly is understood by us to be the basis and implications of partition.

(1) It is the Muslim League which wanted partition.

(2) The responsibility for setting up a separate Government is therefore primarily that of the League and not of the Government of India.

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(3) At the same time it should be agreed readily that every reasonable facility should be provided to the League for this purpose.

(4) That however should not be at the expense of the rest of India. Thus if for the purpose of putting up new buildings extra allotments of steel and cement are required it is obvious that they can only be made at the expense of the provincial quotas. In such a case it would scarcely be unreasonable to suggest that the League should draw to the maximum extent on the quotas due to the Pakistan area in the first instance and if more is still required it can be considered whether that quantity can be spared without undue hardship to the provinces in the rest of India.

(5) In regard to an item such as the removal of a press, clearly we could only agree to it, if we had a surplus capacity. Actually we ourselves are having quite 50 per cent of our printing work done through private presses. Surely the Sind Government could arrange to requisition, if necessary, the printing press capacity for the use of the Pakistan Government.

Similarly, in regard to telephones the position is well known to be one of acute shortage, and waiting lists running into hundreds exist in all the principal cities.

If it were merely a case of making available the services of officers and staff which can be spared temporarily, this could perhaps be done. But we are asked for something more—wholesale diversion of physical resources, transplantation of fixed assets, etc.

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